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ABSTRACT

This report on the Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Program (begun in 1959 and subsequently aided by Federal funds) is punctuated throughout by individual case histories, and describes in a loose narrative fashion the compensatory and special education projects, mental health and guidance services, and skill training centers for low income youth and adults. Also described are junior high and senior high school work training programs, preschool programs, and teacher-aide training programs. Appendix gives summary accounts of research data on which the narrative is based. (KG)

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Administrative Staff

Norman Drachler, Superintendent
Detroit Public Schools

Charles J. Wolfe, Executive Deputy Superintendent

William Simmons, Deputy Superintendent
Division of Governmental Relations and
Fiscal Planning

Louis D. Monacel, Assistant Superintendent
Program Development

Arthur Johnson, Deputy Superintendent
Division of School-Community Relations

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A. L. Zwerdling

Patrick A. McDonald

Remus G. Robinson, M.D.

Book design and illustrations by Robert Brent, Graphic Designer, Michigan State University. Editorial and production advisers: W. Lowell Treaster, Director of Information Services, Michigan State University; and George J. Kooistra, University Editor, Michigan State University. Photographs by Nicholas Wilhelm, Detroit Board of Education Photographer.

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The Constant Search

The Story of Federal Aid to Detroit Schools

by Betty DeRamus

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A FOREWORD

Only since 1964 has federal aid to education been big business. But with the establishment of the Great Cities School Improvement Program in 1959 the stage was set in Detroit for use of the now substantial federal aid. The Great Cities Program had a national impact, for it influenced educational aspects of the Economic Opportunity Act when it was passed in August 1964, with an initial budget of one million dollars. Other programs funded under the EOA and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) in Detroit reflected critical needs as they had been discovered and researched in Great Cities. The following case history of a Great Cities school is a composite portrait; and the principal, community agent and reading coordinator are composite persons, combining elements from many schools and the experiences of many people within the project. The appendix offers a summary account of the research data on which the author's narrative was based.

CHAPTER 1

"IT WAS AN AWFUL JOLT TO

ONE'S EQUILIBRIUM TO HAVE
The Great Cities Story
TO FACE AND TRY TO SOLVE
Part 1
PROBLEMS." — A GREAT CITIES
Can't We Do Something About It?
SCHOOL PRINCIPAL.

He felt like driftwood, floating in a sea of faces. Suspicious faces, snarling faces, silent faces. The faces of fear. They were his students and daily as he walked the corridors of his school, his mind caught impressions — the gleam of a knife, scratches of obscenity on a wall, steamy warmth from a couple leaving a clinch, contempt in the eyes of a passing teacher. They were his students and it was his school, and he did not know quite what to do with them.

The principal had come to the school with a physician's soul, eager to relieve affliction. But misery was not really his specialty. All he ever had administered was an evening school; it had not had department heads or counselors, or problems with police or very many pupils. This new school had been a shock.

It virtually was a welfare school where youngsters having shoes was as important as the lesson plan. And poverty had spawned other problems. Students had been involved in breakings and enterings, assaults, rolling of drunks, gang fights, arson, car thefts, carrying concealed weapons and any other crime short of murder. It had taken time for the principal to adjust.

Meanwhile time seemed to be running out.

It had become a routine statistic in his school that one-third of the student body would drop out before graduation. Some would be lost along the way as a family shifted about in search of better housing; some would be jailed or become pregnant or snare a low paying job. And some would leave society as well as the school to become anonymous drifters, hustlers or thugs.

A basic cause, however, was the school itself — its people and its curriculums were not reaching these youngsters who lagged years behind even in basic reading. The principal, almost in desperation, had begun to play a game with himself called 'If I Had the Power.' It allowed him to dream — of having parents flock to school to discuss their concerns with teachers; of having his teachers walk through the neighborhoods where these youngsters lived, to see and smell, and to hear their problems; of having special materials and special people geared to his particular student body. When the Great Cities School Improvement Program was instituted at his school, it seemed, especially in the beginning, a start toward fulfilling those dreams.

It was 1959, and Sam Brownell had been doing some dreaming too.

And worrying.

The first massive citizens school study in any city, headed by present Detroit superintendent Norman Drachler in 1958, had urged him to act "immediately" to improve educational opportunities for the so-called "culturally deprived" child.

Superintendents, including Brownell, from the nation's 15 largest cities had done a lot of head-shaking at their annual Atlantic City meeting, also in 1958, as they considered some troubling facts. Among them was the continued concentration of old and inadequate buildings in the centers of cities — the so-called inner city — where overcrowding and half-day sessions increased the difficulty of improving curriculums and upgrading teachers. Another was the statistic the inner-city principal knew all too well — one of every three students would drop out. The superintendents resolved they would try to do something about it.

Great Cities was Brownell's baby. He had been struck by an aspect of inner-city schools: the way pupils got along with their teachers seemed to determine how well they learned. Children from fatherless, poverty-ridden homes often came to school seeking not learning, but love. But they could not get the recognition and attention they needed in a crowded classroom, where personalities and problems clashed, driving inexperienced and bewildered teachers to despair. They could not get it from people who did not fully understand their lives, or from books that did not portray them.

Yet if anything was to be done, the school would have to do it, for the parents of many of these youngsters were primarily unschooled Southern migrants, lacking the knowledge to render any academic help or the money for most material comforts. Often they even were afraid to enter a school.

But what could be done?

"We asked each principal, 'What's best for your school?'" explained Dr. Brownell. "Some had been doing a good job. But some had not been paying as much attention as they might have to the problems, particularly the reading problem."

So the Great Cities project began in three schools. Within months, the Ford Foundation had agreed to partially support the project, allowing it to expand from three to seven schools. The project began to acquire substance along with shape. Community coordinators were installed and charged with bringing schools and their communities closer together, and coaching teachers were assigned to teach remedial reading. Books and materials stamped "Great Cities" began arriving at schools.

And a man, Dr. Carl Marburger, emerged as the essence of the Great Cities spirit. Marburger had succeeded Dr. Carl Byerly, who headed the pilot program in its first year. Steering the program from 1960-64, when it lacked either substantial funds or a clear-cut philosophy but was rich in enthusiasm, Marburger came to typify a "we can get the job done" attitude. And to the people who lived those early days, this spirit was crucial. People felt able to try out things, to put ideas into practice, and they were swept along, caught up in the movement.

Marburger saw his basic role as one of "freeing up people and then, in many cases, bailing them out when they got in trouble." He also tried to pull together the many ideas of his staff on how "basic, institutional change" could take place within the school system.

No one was sure just how or when this change would come, but many were willing to work for it. Since the Great Cities project paralleled many of his own desires for his school, the principal found it easy to accept its goals. And his acceptance was quickly communicated to others. But if the Great Cities temper was infectious, it also was troubling, chills often following the fever. It put the burden for getting results squarely on the shoulders of the principal and his teachers.

"Perhaps the only significant change in curriculum is what happens when the individual teacher closes the door of her classroom," said Marburger, now commissioner of education for Trenton, New Jersey. "Assuming the requisite skills in teaching the basic materials, the teacher's attitude is the most crucial factor.

"The teacher who teaches in the suburbs is home; she is teaching her own children; she is teaching youth with whom she is familiar, because usually the teacher comes from the upper or lower middle class. She is very often upward striving and everything she does is in conflict with the four-letter word, the dirty child, the welfare recipient and all the things she is bound to find in the inner city schools."

And Marburger's words hit home.

"It was an awful jolt to one's equilibrium," a principal wrote in his annual report, "to have to face and try to solve problems rather than dismiss them by saying that this should have been done in the junior high school or in the elementary school."

Reactions of his faculty had been divided: some were optimistic, others felt defeated. The Great Cities philosophy, the principal found, had to be sold to teachers on a one-to-one basis.

"Many of our teachers," his candid report continued, "are relatively inexperienced and too large a proportion of them have average or below-average abilities. These will very likely never be able to perceive or become interested in the complex problems of a school such as ours."

But for every teacher who was "confused" or "skeptical" or "derisive" there was one willing to try. Jake was one. He is a short, stubby Negro, young and bustling. It was his first year of teaching anywhere. He had come into the school still shiny from college, but he was tough and level-eyed and missed nothing.

It took Jake only a week to decide what was wrong with the school. Women ran it. Jake could count the number of male teachers on his hand. And in class, he noticed they always called on girls. "No wonder the boys weren't too interested in school. They never got a chance to participate. It was the same old female domination they got at home."

But if women dominated, it took a man to really control, Jake decided after two female teachers called on him to help

them with their classes. In one case, two small boys who had been fighting refused to tell their teacher why. Jake took them outside to talk it over. "As I expected, they had been fighting over a little girl. But even I was taken aback when one of the little boys referred to the little girl as 'my old lady.'"

Jake soon discovered that the youngster had been hustling nickels as a shoeshine boy, then spending it all on ice-cream and candy for the little girl. The pride in the child's eyes was fierce as he described how he took his 'old lady' to the ice cream parlor, had her sit on the stool, then ordered for her. The boy also boasted that he had bought a purse and shoes for the little girl.

When Jake told this story to the boy's teacher, she looked baffled for a moment, then merely shrugged her shoulders. Jake decided to call in the boy's mother.

"Do you know your son is giving the money he earns to a little girl?" he asked.

She didn't even know her son had a job. In the moments when she mustered enough strength to open her eyes on the world, she found it not to her liking. She lived, instead, in a dream daze of alcohol, lonely sex and sleep. Sometime, she didn't know when, her husband had disappeared, just as furniture, friends and hope had vanished.

"You have a little boy," Jake told her. "Come back and see me."

And once in awhile she did, occasionally taking the trouble to comb her hair or put on a fresh dress. Her son became less of a behavior problem. He never knew when his mother might decide to come to school.

Other teachers, too, were coming into closer contact with their communities, seeing parents as real people. Four teachers, for instance, brought their spouses to a square dance in the gym at the invitation of the community coordinator, one of the new people the project had added to the school. The teachers had such a good time they soon volunteered to teach one night a week in their fields in the after-school program instituted by the coordinator.

Another teacher asked if she could teach a knitting class for girls after school. When the parents heard about it, several asked that she also teach a class for them. When waiting lists for both classes developed in the fall, parents were brought in to teach these new classes.

Workshops which brought teachers together for brainstorming sessions contributed greatly to the new spirit of experimentation and camaraderie. Out of these sessions came concrete programs.

Plans were made there, for instance, for beginning a non-graded primary unit to allow a teacher to keep the same group for three years, thus aiding the development of closeness between the child and teacher and better personal adjustment for the child.

The structure was established for the production of a school newspaper, and the first draft of an orientation handbill for families new to the school community was prepared. Two groups of beginning 5A's also became part of an experiment to improve performances by making school work more exciting. Audiovisual aids, special reading materials, parent participation in projects, trips, home visits, conferences were all employed.

A key theme in Great Cities literature and dialogues was something that began to be called the theory of "cultural deprivation." Useful to educators, the term eventually became distasteful to the people whose children it was used to describe. Yet it was not meant to become a hard and fast label.

Project writer Charles Mitchell, writing in *Childhood Education* magazine in 1963, noted: "Slum children are not necessarily culturally deprived and visa versa. We have accepted culturally deprived as a useful, relatively objective term to apply to the child who lacks enough of the opportunities and advantages normally available to most American children and is, therefore, unable to make satisfactory progress in a typical school."

Such children, it was pointed out, were already at a disadvantage when they began school. They had been deadened by their environment. ". . . there is a common denominator: *not enough,*" Mitchell wrote. "Not enough income, information, skills to get along successfully; no precedent for success; insufficiencies of every sort."

Many of these families came to Detroit after World War II, lured by the promises of industries which recruited heavily throughout the South. Many industries, however, soon moved away or automated themselves out of any need for unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

They were families with children — five on an average. Often adults lacked the education and skills for other kinds of jobs. Just as often, racial discrimination blocked their progress. Crime and unemployment grew side by side where they settled, and so did the welfare load. People stayed in their own neighborhoods, fearful of the big city.

And the children grew.

What happened inside their homes was crucial to what would happen to them later in the school and in the world of work.

Lula Gray's home was typical of many. Mrs. Gray is a smooth-skinned woman of 32, who bore her first child when she was 15. She was slender then, gray-eyed, with a skip in her walk. By the time she was 30, Mrs. Gray was 200 pounds of despair — she and her seven children jammed into two musty rooms so bare the rats did not even enter them.

Lula Gray's youngest daughter was four years old, had bright, staring eyes and weighed only 25 pounds. Mrs. Gray had been stuffing the child with rice day after day, trying to fatten her. But not much food would stay down. She watched her child, dwindling and disintegrating, and she could not understand it. She believed the child was marked as she had heard seventh children sometimes were. She did not learn until her child was five and enrolled in kindergarten that she was suffering from extreme malnutrition and needed more and varied food . . . fruits, vegetables, lean meats, juices.

But how could Mrs. Gray buy such foods? On welfare since her husband had been stabbed to death in a street corner brawl, she was hard-pressed to keep enough milk or bread in the house. And she did not really trust the school or what it said. Likely, the child *was* marked. Likely, the school people *were* lying. Who ever had heard of malnutrition?

The school had heard of it and seen it in many forms in its youngsters. Sometimes it was malnutrition of body and sometimes of spirit. A youngster might be hungry for food or hungry for different experiences. But by the time he reached the school, he was aimed toward failure and illiteracy, hopelessness and poverty

Project officials' recognition of these conditions brought the birth of a preschool summer program in 1961. The nursery class for some 30 youngsters entering kindergarten in the fall was repeated until the creation of the national Project Head Start under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Another simple but effective way in which project workers sought to enrich the backgrounds of "culturally deprived" children was through field trips. Youngsters, who seldom had ventured beyond their own neighborhoods, took bus trips to industry, business and cultural centers. They also went on walking trips to the fire department, the service station, the supermarket. But the best field trip of all, youngsters agreed, was the camp-out.

The school in 1962 took 107 sixth-graders to the Parks and Recreation Camp in Brighton, Michigan, for a weekend camping trip. Many teachers and pupils got to know each other as people while singing lustily around the campfire. Youngsters used to the drabness of city streets and project walls learned what green meant, how water flowed, how to snare a beetle.

Within the school other small but significant signs of change were being noted. For Jerry S., a teacher who had been with the project from the beginning, change was a physical thing — less grime on a youngster's face or a tucked-in shirt.

After three years of having the project in the school, Jerry was able, he joked, "to recognize new boys by the dirt."

Only it wasn't really a joke.

"In the years before the project began," he recalled, "there was an almost total disregard of personal hygiene on the part of a great many of the youngsters. Even though specific teachers would encourage, cajole and even demand cleanliness, the results were rather disheartening. Through an all-out program stressing cleanliness, which began the first year of the project and has continued, a tremendous amount of improvement has been shown."

Change also was something Jerry himself, and many of his fellow teachers, had felt when they experienced "professional shock."

"The staff of our school," he admitted, "had believed its curriculum to be more than adequate for our youngsters."

Following staff involvement in workshops and study projects for more than a year, though, they said, "We realized the limitations of our youngsters and tried to adjust our academic program in such a manner as to allow success . . . little did we dream at the start of the project in 1959 that we would undergo so many curriculum changes and changes in ourselves as well . . ."

Curriculum change resulted not only in non-graded primary units, team teaching and extra materials and supplies. It also produced two after-school drama groups taught by an auditorium teacher who used different methods for the very different groups.

One club had an atmosphere of relaxation, its function to give youngsters "something to do." It featured short lectures and demonstration of such things as stage lighting and the use of stage areas. Youngsters also improvised to recordings, trying to project the emotions stirred by the music.

The other drama group was intense, demanding. Its 19 youngsters all had unusual ability in self-expression; they were the clowns, the muggers, the show-offs. And they plunged into their tasks with a will, moving from a mastery of buffoonery to the fine points of comedy — timing and exaggeration.

Meanwhile, a physical education teacher had developed quite a "following" among the sixth graders he counseled. Many returned to him for special activities and guidance, including an "amateur night", even after transferring to a neighboring junior high.

More direct career guidance was being attempted too. The school's extended school committee (the principal and his assistant, the community agent and a delegation of classroom teachers) chose the group of fifth and sixth graders who participated in the new occupational studies program.

These youngsters thus were able to study occupations which personally intrigued them, such as television announcing and research science. And "successful" people from many fields began visiting the school, talking about their work and about themselves.

Involvement of parents in school programs, however, remained a prime concern. To spearhead this effort, the principal relied more and more on his new community coordinator.

This coordinator, soon renamed the community agent, was a person trained in social work and community organization who first had to find his community, then convince it that it was welcome in the school before anything like community programs could be instituted.

"Before Great Cities, you very seldom saw a parent in the building," the agent recalled. "People didn't feel sure of themselves; they didn't think they were welcome in the school, and often they were right. I guess you would call our first offering, Introductory Programs, because they were designed to lead people into more advanced involvement."

After meeting with a number of community groups, the agent with the cooperation of many teachers had established what he called "community programs." These included the range of domestically-oriented activities — sewing, cooking, millinery, consumer marketing.

One important discovery the school soon made was that what you *called* a course often determined how popular it would be. "Child Psychology" scared parents away. "Child Study" attracted them. When an adult reading class was set up, few adults came to admit they had trouble reading. But they did come to the "Current Events" course.

And women in a millinery class in the spring of 1962 were only too happy to fly to New York for a four-day fashion tour. Scarcely stopping to catch a breath, they made the rounds of the pattern houses and excitedly toured Manhattan.

Project officials soon discovered that summertime was the best time to get youngsters and adults into an informal setting where learning could become more enjoyable.

In the school's first summer program, 19 residents of the community were paid $.75 to $1.25 an hour as teacher assistants. Others volunteered their services, as did the neighborhood woman with six pianos in her home who gave free piano lessons. Using teachers and laymen as after-school and evening instructors and leaders, the agent was able to develop a comprehensive enrichment-remedial-recreational summer program, coordinate the work of community agencies in the school and encourage the growth of community leadership.

Yet the needs of the community remained vast. After the agent began to meet with success in getting people into the building for informal courses, he had the satisfaction of seeing them come back to upgrade their skills through courses such as those in office machines, typing and public speaking.

"They did pretty well and some began to ask, 'How can I get a high school diploma?' They moved into the academic program of the school in a process taking around four years. And along about this time we were also talking to them about their children, asking parents, 'Do you go to school, do you participate in PTA's, do you know about the school curriculum, do you know the requirements for getting into college . . ?' — the whole process of getting them interested in education."

A full-time visiting teacher, also a social worker, had begun diagnosing and referring emotionally disturbed children and their families to the appropriate agencies as well as holding small group therapy sessions with parents and children.

Ignorance was the real enemy.

"Many of our students had never even been downtown," one teacher revealed. "We first acquainted them with their own city. Then they were ready to tackle the State Capitol and places like the Toledo Museum."

Conflict, the agent discovered, was inherent in his role. Some school personnel accepted his help willingly. Others rejected him as a meddler. A few resented his acting initially almost as a third administrator, staffing and running after-school programs.

Still, the agent with the support of his principal and of teachers doggedly continued his work, arranging trips for parents to the civic center, international institute, the detention home and other points in the city. The parents health committee also swung into motion, visiting the school health clinic, sponsoring one regular meeting with a pediatrician, sponsoring the first aid class and assisting the health department during immunization clinics.

Acting as an extension of the principal, the agent also was able to fulfill one of the principal's long-time desires — the involvement of agencies. The Merrill Palmer Institute conducted a class for potential problem girls. Sororities gave financial assistance to students and agencies such as Parks and Recreation, and the YMCA and YWCA contributed from their resources.

An incident in 1963, however, pointed to the shape the agent's role eventually would take. After about 200 students became involved in the federal, in-school work-training project, officials received a directive from Washington stating the program was being cut in half.

The school decided the directive should not be accepted placidly. The agent was encouraged to circulate petitions. Some 5,000 persons flooded federal and state officials with letters of protest. Within 30 days, the school received another letter from Washington stating the work training program would not be cut. It remained intact.

For the agent, the incident underscored the value of protest and of confrontations between the emerging community and its institutions when such clashes could lead to solutions. "When issues came up," he said, "we began to show people ways and techniques of achieving their goals."

Other forces were at work, too, which contributed to the eventual birth of militant community action to change and re-shape the institutions of a community. The civil rights movement was underway and having a dramatic if immeasurable impact on the Negro community. Project writer Charles Mitchell described a dinner and meeting with leaders of the initial seven Great Cities schools:

"The meeting, characterized from the outset by fresh and articulate exchanges between the professionals and lay leaders, became a free-for-all of question and answer at the mention of reading. 'How is reading taught?' 'Why isn't the student learning?' 'What can we do?' All the questions implied a desire on the parents' part to know more about cause and effect in the learning process . . .

"Nor is it the Great Cities project alone that has given inner-city parents the hope that 'here is something, at long last.' Crises have done it, crises grown to undeniable proportions from a concatenation of seemingly unrelated phenomena . . . immigration, inequality of opportunity, inadequate city planning, urban blight, the flight to the suburbs, property tax devaluation, decentralization of major industry.

"People have done it with the power of votes, placing a few more informed, thoughtful, concerned men in office, men aware of the need for change and capable of action. School people have done it, saying flatly: 'We are not doing our work satisfactorily. We are not preparing children and youth for the world.'"

With the placing of a coaching teacher in the project school, reading became a prime focus there, too. All general education teachers were involved in a series of workshops taught by the coaching teacher on the techniques of teaching reading. Three teachers also taught reading improvement classes after school.

Reading clubs were established, bookmobiles made regular visits to the school, the school library circulated books overnight. And, perhaps most significantly, a library caravan supervised by parents and the school staff hauled children to the public library every Wednesday afternoon.

The library teacher began keeping open an extra hour after school two days a week. Cooperation from teachers who mentioned the new library hours during their classes helped to give the program momentum.

"We began with a hard core of readers. But others came, trailing friends, and now we have quite remarkable attendance and book circulation. And the hard core of readers gets bigger and bigger."

Despite the enthusiasm of the project staff, however, the coaching teacher found that her main emotion was compassion.

"I am daily reminded that the students I reach are too few in number to be of significance to the total scholastic achievement," she wrote in an early report. "Granted this is true, my question is, 'Am I expected to try to help alter the entire problem of underachievement or am I expected to serve merely as a trail-blazer for an enlarged coaching program which will follow at a later time?'"

Yet, rewarding moments, moments even of humor came, too. Confusion regarding the nature of her work began at the first teachers meeting when she was introduced. Teachers, and later students, thought she had been transferred to the athletic department as a new coach. When students began coming to her classroom on a voluntary basis after the first week of school, many solved the problem of what to call her by simply referring to her as, "the one in 219."

The coaching teacher conceived her first goals to be to "re-awaken within the students I encounter a desire to do better; next, I have to help the students to stop thinking of themselves and others like them as undesirables."

Some came to scoff, but stayed to learn; others drifted in after reading or hearing about the class. They were students with records of chronic failure — 114 enrollees, two to eight years retarded in reading.

The coaching teacher held private conferences with students to determine their goals. Letters were sent to parents explaining the new reading program and asking them to encourage their children's attendance.

"Often the parents who were contacted mentioned how happy they felt to receive a letter from someone at ______, that, for a change, 'did not contain bad news.'"

And the coaching teacher was able to note individual instances of improvement in student behavior as students acquired a new sense of hope and worth. They had been afraid, afraid of failure, of being laughed at, or left out or never learning to read. She touched them with her concern and like a dam bursting they poured it out to her. She began to feel what it meant, the pain of this new thing, being a coaching teacher.

Yet the coaching teacher found herself questioning her ability to make much progress, questioning the structure and concerns of the project.

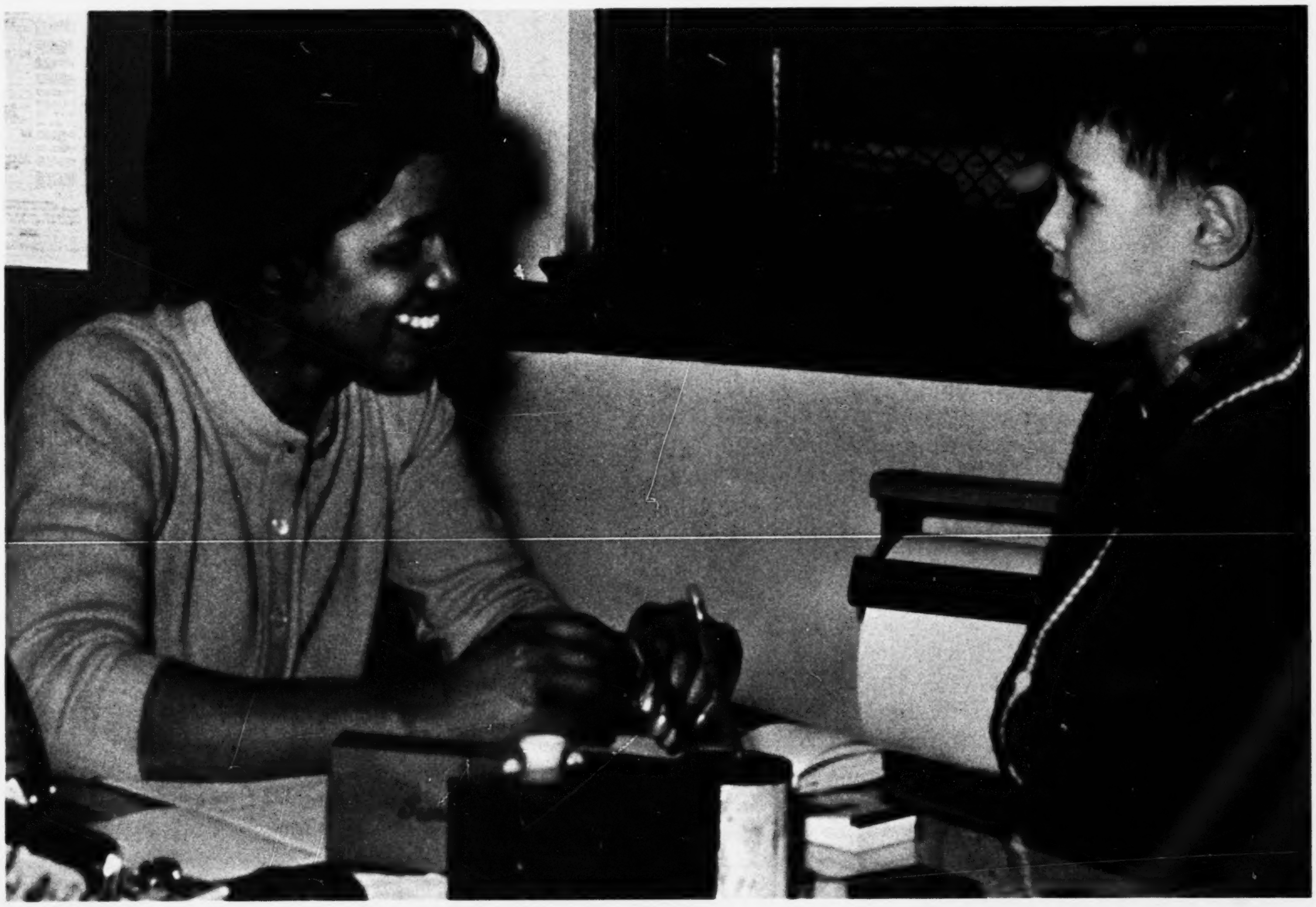
"Instead of free lunches," she wrote, "why can't we introduce free breakfasts? Mental health, physical well-being, scholarship and attendance would doubtlessly improve if students were invited to eat a good breakfast each morning."

And the principal? Like the coaching teacher and the community agent he had found the first and succeeding years of participation in the Great Cities project "both joy and frustration."

Some progress had been made toward indoctrinating his staff with the Great Cities philosophy. The principal, himself, had drawn up a statement of staff position. This statement declared among other points that the school staff believed in 1) the inherent worth, dignity and integrity of the individual child, which entitles him to privacy and respect for his feelings; 2) equal opportunity for all children to experience success in learning; 3) the right of every child to a good, well-informed teacher.

More importantly, the principal felt progress had been made by his staff in reaching the students themselves.

A severe vandalism problem had plagued the school for a long time. Monday mornings the principal and his teachers came to school expecting to find windows shattered, equipment scattered about rooms, maybe some of it broken. The principal, teachers and parents all believed it was the activity of a notorious gang, the Hunters, which had several members in the school.



The principal was criticized by both parents and teachers when he invited the Hunters to hold their meetings in the school. But they accepted his offer, and the vandalism began to decrease.

A few teachers and the school administration then decided that they should try to sell themselves — and their philosophy — to the really tough kids, the leaders.

Their target was "Blood."

"Blood" was secretary of war for the Hunters. A squat, frowning boy with one eye that never quite opened, he seemed the caricature of a bad boy, the movie image of a young thug. But he was, as school officials well knew, a thief and a bully and often a drunk — reading only at the fourth grade level in high school. And now he had become a drop-out, too.

Jake found him in a carwash. He sneered at the youth: "Man is this all that's happening?"

He learned that this was an uncertain boy, who relied on things for his identity. His knife, his clothes, his girl — whom he beat — these were all him. But his proudest possession was his "deuce" (Cadillac). He was working to finish paying for it.

"Come on back when you're through," Jake told him.

In a few months, "Blood" was back in school.

Soon other teachers began trying to talk the language of their students, withholding comment even when they considered the student to be in the wrong. "We decided we could get more flies with honey than we could with vinegar," said the principal.

"The kids began to relate to some of us. We could and did talk their language when necessary. We did not call the authorities when we were told of a transgression. We listened without questioning. When we felt the time had come we started to throw out suggestions on how this or that event could have been avoided."

A total breakthrough was still a long way off, however. The principal summed up the status of the Great Cities project after two years in mixed terms:

"We were joyful for the many opportunities we had to do some of the things we had wished we could do in past years. But we were frustrated on occasions by educational tradition. We were frustrated many times by being unable to meet the social and academic needs of our parents and children. Academic achievement has been very poor, attitudes toward school very casual."

Part 2

A Seedling Sprouts

"In 1960, '61, and '62, teachers rediscovered what it was presumed they already knew: that these kids, if they have no belief in themselves cannot learn and if they feel you do not believe in them cannot learn . . . that the level of expectation is critical."

—Dr. Louis Monacel, Assistant Superintendent, Special Projects.

The small tree planted in 1959 grew many branches in the experimental years before the Great Cities project acquired new roots with the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The school, in particular, felt the stirrings of growth. Nervous but excited children were boarding the Great Cities bus bound for places they had never seen, though often they were very near them in time. And they were attending day and after-school classes, some designed to improve their grasp of basic subjects like math and English; some to spur self-improvement through the social graces and grooming; some for fun and cultural stimulation, such as the tap dance and band classes.

Youngsters also were taking library books home for the first time as the result of an experiment conducted by the Great Cities staff. Fearing heavy losses, schools had never allowed these books to be taken into homes. But for six months they were taken home in project schools. Losses were so slight that the practice was soon allowed in all schools.

Teachers, too, were getting entangled in the foliage. Some were teaching after-school classes where, in a small setting for the first time, they could see youngsters and their parents as individuals with individual problems and individual hopes. Teachers were attending Great Cities-sponsored workshops where they heard outstanding consultants in child psychology, sociology and urban renewal, and other disciplines, outline the needs of the individual child.

A discretionary fund of $300-$400 had been added to the Great Cities school budget to allow teachers to obtain materials they considered useful, but which were not available through regular channels. More teachers began to pay at least "lip service" to the notion that teaching a disadvantaged child was not an impossibility.

And the school community agent? He was learning the real meaning of strengthening the ties between the school and the community — leg work. He attended meetings; made home visits; took tea with block clubs; dropped in on police precincts: searched everywhere for ways to help the community develop its skills for problem-solving.

The "coaching" teacher was now known as the "reading coordinator." Her main emphasis had shifted from teaching reading classes to holding demonstration lessons for teachers, forming reading clubs and conferring with parents interested in helping their children overcome their reading problems. The seedling was sprouting.

By late 1964 and early 1965 some blooms were ready to bud.

New personnel, new schools, new funds, new problems soon descended. The total expenditure for the project in its Ford Foundation days, when about 10,000 pupils and 420 teachers were involved, had represented an increase of less than 10 percent above normal per pupil costs — approximately $40 per pupil in the seven schools. The emphasis was on trying out innovations which, if successful, could be expanded within the school system.

With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in August 1964, additional monies became available for improvement of the urban school and its community. And with the promotion of Dr. Marburger to executive administrative assistant to Superintendent Brownell, the Great Cities program got a new head, Dr. Louis Monacel.

Monacel had been a member of the Marburger team, as principal of a summer school program. It was his task to bring greater professionalism into the project in keeping with its expansion to 27 schools, 20 quickly falling under the EOA.

"We couldn't grope anymore," he explained. "When there were seven school-community agents, there was a sense of doing something new, of probing into what your job was. With 30 to 40 agents, they had to assume a posture, a philosophy, a concept."

Physical growth made the firming-up of project goals necessary. Late in 1964, "extended" schools modeled closely after Great Cities schools were established in 51 schools under the direction of Dr. James Neubacher. These schools offered after-school adult education, library services, remedial and instructional courses for students and adults.

An important feature of the extended schools was the introduction of school-community assistants, neighborhood people who knew the community from the inside. "That way," explained Dr. Neubacher, "the community got to know school problems, and the assistant could inform the school what was going on in the community."

The project began to engage in serious assessments of its successes and its failures. It now numbered among its programs, both in Great Cities proper and extended schools, the community use of school buildings, extended day programs, cultural enrichment activities and bus service, school-community assistants, school service assistants, school-community agents, reading coordinators, materials and supplies, school discretionary fund, workshops, bus service for field trips and summer programs.

Attitudinal growth remained the number one "bottleneck" to project progress.

"Suppose," said Dr. Neubacher, "we built all beautiful classrooms with audiovisual equipment. We'd still need all teachers of skill and understanding."

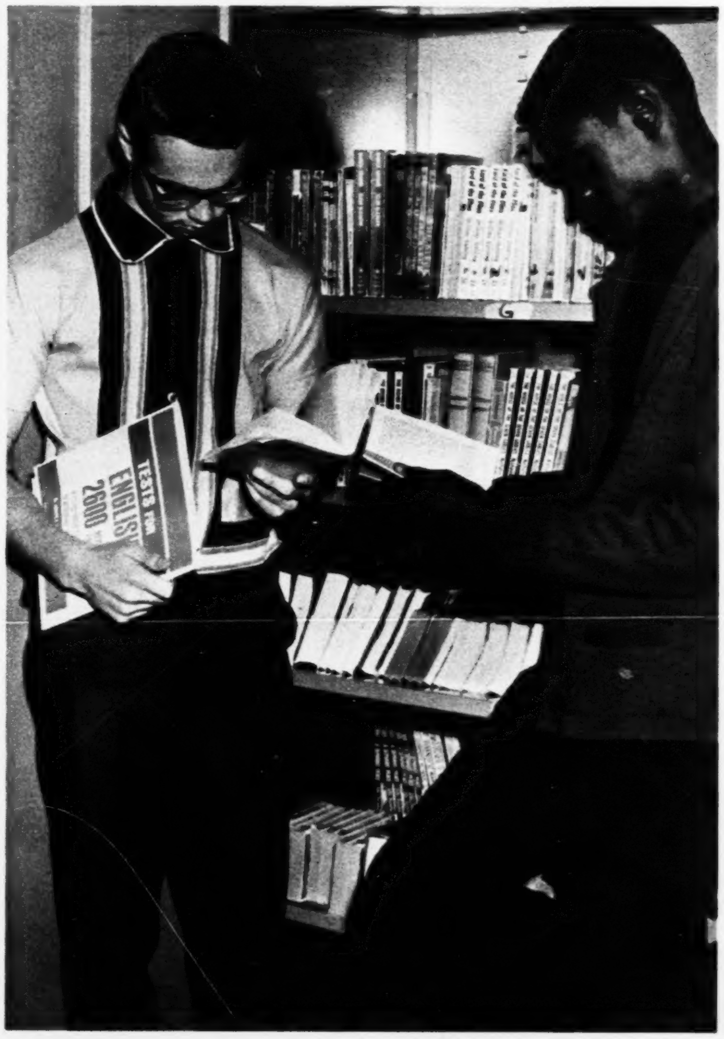
Working in the school, the young teacher, Jake, and the coordinator saw the problem in terms of specifics. Jake recalled receiving a personal letter from a youngster dotted with misspellings and grammatical errors. He showed it to the child's teacher.

"Oh yes," the teacher commented absently, "that's Millie; she's a bright kid." The teacher then walked away.

Jake was burning inside. "When a teacher praises a teenaged kid, tells him he's doing good, while the kid knows his work is inferior, that does something to the kid. He loses respect for the teacher. He thinks the teacher doesn't expect him to do anything.

"The level of teacher expectation has to be maintained. Teachers have to show kids what a good job is. They have to expose them to enough things so they can see what *good* is. Sometimes I think some teachers don't know what *good* is. Too many have been reaching out here for external reasons why the job was not done."

The coordinator had been a teacher at the school when it changed swiftly from all-white to nearly all-black. She, too, had been appalled by some teachers' attitudes. When an influx of Negro youngsters poured in, the coordinator saw some standards drop, many attitudes grow hostile and old teachers flee.



"Even under Great Cities," she recalled, "no one was able to anticipate the kind of problems with teachers that would develop — the transiency. When you got someone trained to cope with transiency, they themselves became transients."

The toe-to-toe confrontations between the school and the community that were beginning to be triggered also revolved around the question of teacher attitudes, especially as they were believed to relate to pupil achievements.

"Obviously the schools weren't reaching kids; they were not reading," one early agent said. "Once the community got inside the school, inevitably parents said 'You're not teaching my kid.' Schools too often were defensive, instead of saying, 'We know we're not — how can we do it?'"

The principal found himself reexamining his own role. Nothing in his background had prepared him to become a master of human relations and community functions as well as education. Though he had welcomed Great Cities at its inception, he now often felt ill at ease, like an acrobat on a swaying wire, and if he sometimes became sensitive to criticism, sometimes sent the agent to affairs where he was expected, he wondered if the Great Cities project did not, at bottom, expect just a little too much.

Both the agent and his principal now had to contend with a potentially powerful force — parents. A citizens advisory committee, composed of prominent area residents, had been established to aid the school administration with some of its administrative and financial problems. Its membership included doctors, lawyers, judges, as well as the so-called "grassroots" people. This group's aim in the main, was to lend a hand to the school.

Prior to the establishment of this committee a lone student invited to attend an educational conference would not have been able to go, since Great Cities buses were only used for groups and few students had the money for trips. But the citizens committee dug into its collective pocket for events like this, and aided many students with college admissions testing fees. The committee even had a social service unit of ministers which offered students spiritual counseling.

The agent was now the coordinator of the parents club, which was holding many workshops on parent-child understanding. Parents honestly wanted to know how they could help their children get along better in school, even if sometimes they hadn't been able to express their concern.

"We found that there was not too much communication in families," said the agent. "Instead of talking, parents were either asking questions or giving orders. Parents club activities were designed to improve the relationship between parents and children and also parents and the school."

Around 1964, the agent had found himself moving more into the arena of work with community groups to increase their stability and attempting to mobilize community forces around significant, education-related activities. Did the school need a new plant? Groups then, he stressed, should rally to boost education.

But sometimes indigenous leadership first had to be nurtured since it was not the agent's role to lead — only to spark. Almost every neighborhood issue, he discovered, related to the health of the school. He found himself prodding groups to demand city services to prevent blight and slum developments, and helping register voters so the people would have a voice in choosing the persons who would shape the various sectors of their lives, including education.

An adult education class in speech seemed to contain a core of community or neighborhood leadership potential. Concerned over an article appearing in a daily newspaper about a freeway that would displace area residents, the class sent a letter of protest to the newspaper, then circulated petitions throughout the community.

A parent in the class also initiated her own private project to improve the climate in her community. Noting the generally negative attitude of merchants and businessmen in the neighborhood toward the school program, students and area residents, she personally distributed the school newspaper, with words of explanation, to personnel in offices, grocery stores, restaurants, gas stations.

The reading coordinator was equally busy.

"It is sometimes necessary," she noted in March 1964, "to postpone and space the class visits in an effort to keep the coordinator's schedule workable."

Four English teachers had asked her to assist them in the reading laboratory, where youngsters received intensive drills in word recognition.

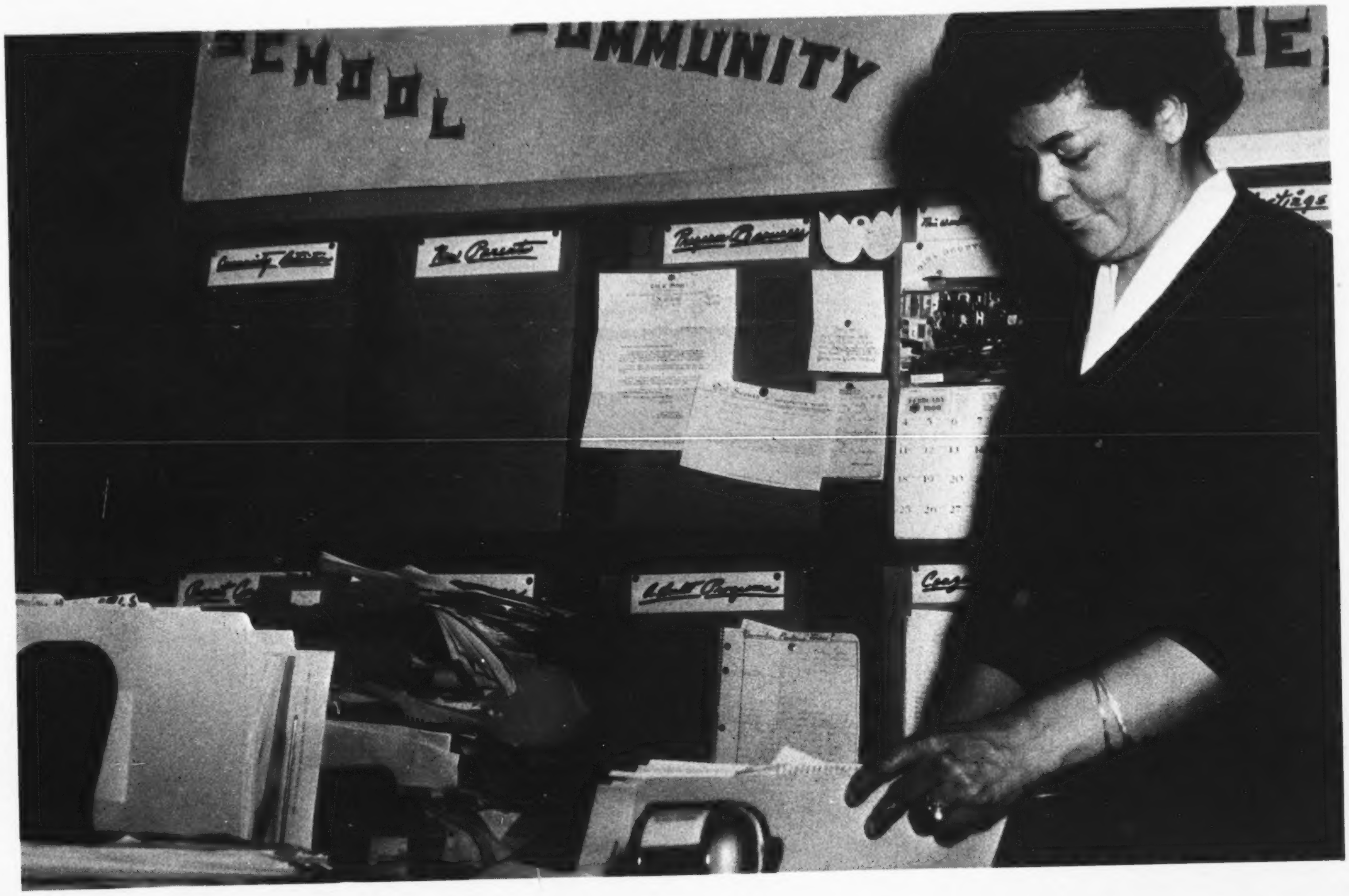
"With difficult social studies texts or science texts," the reading coordinator decided, "it appears more practical to assist with the planning of teaching reading skills related to the specialized areas or to give demonstrations on the teaching of the new vocabulary."

The reading coordinator also demonstrated teaching of phonics and word analysis skills in many classrooms. Filmstrips on the use of consonant blends, vowel sounds and dictionary entries were used in the various classrooms along with large charts and flash cards.

And after three years of work, an approach to one of the greatest barriers to the effective teaching of reading in the primary grades had been developed. The "Jimmy Series," the first-grade segment of a reading series now running through the third-grade, contained words and descriptions of experiences that were true to the lives many inner-city children lead. Illustrations showed crowded city streets, old, but well-kept houses. Fathers did not all wear ties and carry briefcases. And some of the faces of the children in the stories were brown.

The little books, produced as a project for Great Cities by a team of Detroit teachers, consultants and writers, had an undeniable impact. According to an evaluation in 1963, city children using them had better success than non-users in understanding and remembering what they read, partly because the books used fewer words.

Progress was beginning to be made, but project officials knew it was slow, undramatic progress, the factors of success difficult to measure or prove. Meanwhile a controversy over the reasons for lack of greater student achievement was brewing an angry storm in the community.



Part 3

And A Controversy Grows, Too

"We absolutely reject the rationalization, based upon Nazi-like theories of racial inferiority, which shifts the blame to Afro-American parents and children by labelling them culturally deprived . . . We also reject the philosophy of white supremacy which seeks solutions in federally or foundation-financed programs designed to indoctrinate inner city children with the standards and values of a middle-class white culture."

— The Inner City Parents Council.

"You can't look at absolute progress where there are such great problems; the question is where would they be without the project?"

—Dr. James Neubacher, Director,
Great Cities School Improvement Program

At nearly every school meeting, a large woman, dark and sullen beneath a tight wig, sits up front. She is a patient woman, a breeder of children and a cunning fighter. The woman takes slow, measured breaths as she listens to the words of school officials, other parents. She listens and awaits her opportunity. When she feels the moment has arrived, her suddenly agile bulk snaps erect.

"I've sit here and listen to you folks talk," she begins her challenge, "and now I just want somebody to tell me what you gonna do about my son?"

Her son is 10 and reads at the second-grade level. She has written many letters, as eloquent as they are grammatically tortured, to local officials detailing her fight with school personnel, and has even communicated with Vice President Humphrey.

What she tells her many correspondents is how she had her son's teacher demote him when she discovered his reading was below par. What she does then is to blast the school system's policy of "social promotions" — not failing youngsters, on the theory it will damage their already low self-esteem. And this mother is convinced, she'll tell you quickly, that projects like Great Cities do little good, and waste money, without getting down to core problems.

Yet, ironically, arousing concern like hers is one of the aims of the project. It was inevitable, project officials knew, that when the community began to involve itself more in the life of the school, sitting in on meetings, weighing and assessing school personnel, that a dissatisfaction with the achievements of their youngsters would grow. And at times it had seemed the whole city was up in arms over various school practices.

Federally-funded programs were especially vulnerable to attack until passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Earlier Office of Economic Opportunity school monies could be addressed only to remedial and extra-curricular activities. But citizens were demanding something else — the reduction of class size to allow more individualized teaching of youngsters with special problems.

The sentiment of criticism of school policies was firmly established in Detroit as a succession of citizens committees, beginning in 1958, published their findings and recommendations.

The 1962 Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities stated, "Since reading is so important to future school success, we urge that remedial instruction in reading and arithmetic be provided as an integral part of the school program of studies . . . after-school classes find the students as well as the teachers tired."

Other groups and individuals also have assumed the role of school critics. A basic issue is always scores. In the comparison of achievement levels, inner city schools tested at the bottom for above-average senior high school students based upon the Schools and College Ability Test (SCAT) October 1965. In the comparison of achievement levels in Detroit schools, inner city schools tested at the bottom in the average mean test scores on the Iowa test of skills by high school constellation, October 1965, grade 8B.

Armed with these and other figures, the militant Inner City Parents Council late in 1967 "indicted" the Board for "failure to educate inner city children." This occurred during a raucous free-for-all in which a Council spokesman denounced and exchanged heated words with several Board members.

In another fiery confrontation, three leaders of the Ad Hoc Committee of Citizens Concerned with Equal Educational Opportunities early in 1968 made their annual presentation to the Board, citing test scores of grades 4, 6 and 8 in the Detroit Public Schools to support their claim that "our community becomes more and more alarmed at the low achievement in our schools."

Claiming to represent 70 organizations, the group charged, "We are being subjected to an educational system which dispenses educational benefits based on such educationally irrelevant factors as the community in which one lives, race or color of a child's skin, the social or economic status of a child's parents and oftentimes on a combination of these factors."

In the midst of this seething inferno of accusations and the Negro community's insistent demands for change now and an end to what it considers the school system's "rationalization" of its failures, compensatory education has become harder and harder to sell. New militant groups especially resent theories of "cultural deprivation." They say the term is both a misnomer and a slur, implying a youngster lacks a "proper" background when actually he only has one differing from the "norm."

Moreover, these groups argue, this differing culture is not necessarily bad, nor by its very nature useless. It has strong points — a toughness and a willingness to face life's realities, a "hip" action-style of writing and speaking, a number of makeshift but effective community institutions: the poolroom, the storefront church, the gang. But the school system, these militants argue, does not understand these differences and is using them to excuse its own failure, a failure of spirit as well as technique.

"We have been accused," Dr. Monacel put it succintly, "of using disadvantageness as a crutch."

An assistant superintendent in charge of special projects, Dr. Monacel and his staff are often on the firing line. And they have felt some of the sharpest sniping from the emerging Negro community as manifested by the advisory committee for the local anti-poverty agency.

Programs administered by the Board as anti-poverty components, including Great Cities, need this committee's approval. No rubber stamp, it sometimes withholds it, particularly if it feels the community has not been involved enough in the program's planning.

The blasts that follow can be deafening.

Establishment of the Urban Area Employment Project (UAEP), for instance, was stalled for months when dissension developed over the fact that the project director was being named by the superintendent of schools.

Several members of UAEP's advisory committee felt the director of this project, which is now training the unemployed to serve as school aides, should have their stamp of approval. The controversy was not resolved until the advisory committee was able to interview and pass judgment on all the candidates for coaching or supervisory positions in the project. Eventually they chose five.

In another instance, the director of a federal project submitted a proposal to his area advisory committee only four days before the deadline for its submission to Washington. It was suggested to this director that his action did not constitute the "maximum community participation" called for by federal guidelines and his proposal was halted while the committee dissected it. Significantly, the director's administrators and most of his colleagues backed the community in the dispute.

Such incidents highlight the fact that the Board, generally, and the special projects division, particularly, has found it impossible to ignore the pressure exerted by various community groups, including hard-core civil rights organizations. Actually, points out Dr. Monacel, the school system has been forced to institute many new programs and listen to the voice of the community to avoid having the same kind of programs "rammed down our throats."

Many from the community, for instance, were involved in preparing for the advent of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The Act, signed into law April 11, 1965, represented the largest federal investment in the improvement of education in the nation's schools. A community-wide excitement, a ferment of ideas and intense planning preceded it in Detroit.

In the spring days of 1965, the program development-special projects staff met with every school principal and with many community groups to explain the provisions of ESEA, particularly Title I. Title I offered approximately $1-billion yearly to educational agencies to institute programs to meet the special needs of educationally deprived children by focusing more directly on the school day.

Persons contacted were asked to meet with their school staffs and parents in a search for suggestions on projects that could significantly aid the education of youngsters, both disadvantaged and advantaged. The more than 1,000 ideas received were then sent to representative committees from each high school constellation, which decided on their relative importance.

As a result, eight communication skills centers, a basic reading demonstration project, a discretionary fund for schools and the cultural enrichment project — the latter two incorporated into Great Cities — were set up. Additional preschool programs were instituted along with in-service staff training programs, school camping, supplies and equipment, continuing education for pregnant girls and work training for 14- and 15-year-olds.

The pressure from more militant groups, however, has not subsided. It has grown. The so-called "Negro revolt" which reached its peak around 1963 was particularly strong in Detroit, a union town with a growing middle-class which had growing hopes. Some 125,000 Detroiters marched down Woodward Avenue eight weeks before the celebrated March on Washington, which drew 200,000 participants nationally. Martin Luther King delivered a version of his now famed "I Have A Dream" speech in Detroit before giving it to the sweaty crowd, faces often shining with idealism, which converged on the capital's Lincoln Memorial in search of that dream.

Since those days some have come to feel America is a nightmare, its schools dark images of inadequacy.

The students at Detroit's Northern High School felt that way when they walked out *en masse* on a chilly day in the spring of 1966. The students did not come back until major changes had been promised for their school.

Among the demands of those students, who had student leadership, was the placing of a school-community agent at the school. The other was that their principal, who became a symbol of the inner-city principal who has failed to establish contact with his changing community, be removed.

Both demands were met.

Since Northern, no school staff in any of Detroit's inner city schools has been able to afford complacency.

Since Northern, "black administrators in black schools" has become the rallying cry for many in the Negro community.

Since Northern, two other schools have had brief walkouts, a junior high has had a minor disturbance and the school system has begun to place more black administrators in black schools. Yet the pressures still mount.

Among those feeling them the most has been Dr. Neubacher. Demands for improvement of youngsters' academic achievement, particularly their reading, is, he admits, the trend of the time. And he says, "It is also our goal."

But he adds: "We don't see any shortcut anymore than we did five or six years ago. Before you get to competencies, you have to work on the motivation. A youngster has to see some purpose in education, has to have self-confidence. He has to feel he can do the job and, when he needs help, helpful people are going to help him. He's got to feel he likes himself, and that he likes others."

A continued alienation of people makes the job more difficult, Dr. Neubacher believes. "Discrimination is not out of style and the gap between the haves and the have-nots is widening. Yet we are bombarded on all sides with things we ought to have—the poorest kid sees television, beautiful homes, cars, money."

Speaking of other social conditions adversely affecting schools, he mentioned the high rate of mobility among both students and teachers; the students leading unstable lives, the teachers fear-ridden ones.

"How can you teach kids when 30 percent of the class two weeks from now will be different? And we have schools where two-thirds of the teachers have been there for less than two years. Every year of Great Cities we have to start over. Orientation of staff, leadership of principals are constantly challenged."

People are the key. Their purpose, their sense of direction, makes the difference.

"We urge principals to make Great Cities part of the school day, and extend only if they have to," he explained. "If it's just looked on as some amusement for kids and work for teachers they can forget it.

"The staff and community must sit down together and say, 'What are our problems? What do the kids need?' Then if they decide on math, the math teacher agrees to teach, and they offer 45 minutes of math, 45 minutes of gym and have a snack first.

"Then a teacher tells a kid, 'We want you to come after school; we think we can help you.' Then, ideally, other teachers say, 'I notice a difference in Johnny.'"

Teachers, he adds, sometimes learn more than kids: "They find out that if you make it attractive kids will come back; if you make it attractive they don't want to go home. Teachers also have discovered through working with classes of 12 that they are not policemen. Dissatisfaction is developing as teachers say, 'I know I can teach.' These teachers are not going to stand for classes of 35. A revolt is breeding."

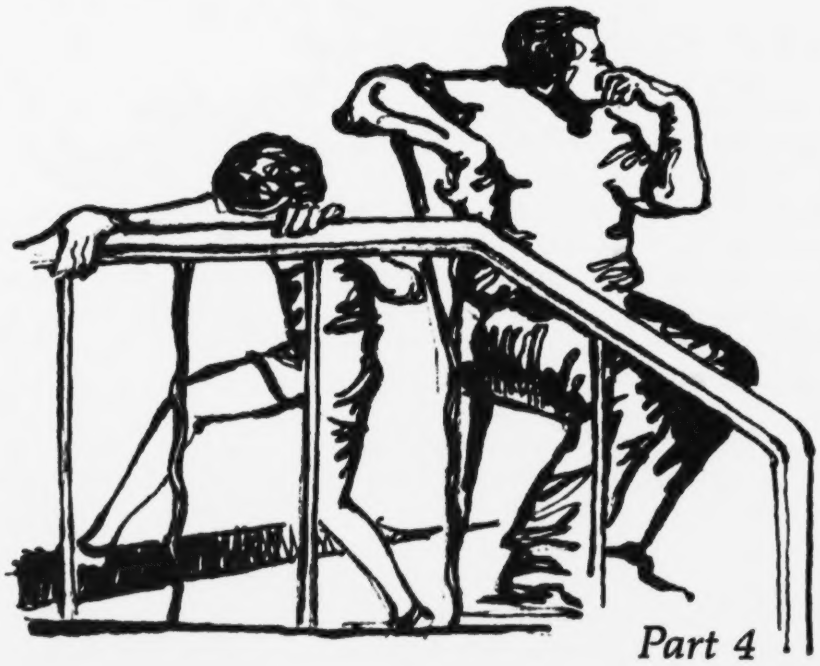
Dr. Neubacher feels the six-week free summer program has probably been the most effective and exciting in terms of "getting people to use their imagination." He cited a school where first-graders had had a poor teacher, subsequently rated unsatisfactory. Parents were highly incensed that their children, in effect, had been cheated out of the first grade. The principal was able to soothe disgruntled parents, however, with assurances that their children would be enrolled in the summer program. And for six weeks, teachers *did* work to fill in most of the gaps in the youngsters' education.

The uncertainty of federal funding has been a stumbling block, leaving Great Cities and other federal programs open to attack for raising, then lowering people's expectations.

"Just when you get things rolling," Dr. Neubacher explained, "next year you get a 20 percent cutback. People get discouraged. You open up a ray of hope, then cut it off. Great Cities has put a burden on principals. And by 3:30 to 5:30 p.m., teachers are beginning to get tired. You are asking a lot of people to do a lot more. Teachers already want to know if they have a job in next year's summer program. Morale-wise, a cut gives the whole thing a temporary, nebulous air — nobody takes it seriously."

If Great Cities could be funded for three or five years on a guaranteed budget, "we could guarantee results," Dr. Neubacher asserts. "Some teachers and administrators would prefer to work in the inner city. We give them a chance to be professional. What they say counts. They can make money and do what they want to do under Great Cities. If we had the kind of funding we wanted, we could say to a teacher, 'Well, you may be good enough for a Great Cities school.'"

Project officials agree that in the best sense, growth of community demands represents a gain for the project, the door through which more meaningful change eventually must come. Dr. Monacel stresses to his staff, the project directors, that they must learn to live with these pressures, realize that they are not going to decrease. "A placid, almost docile community has finally made its schools an issue and this home situation will better reinforce what is happening in the schools," he believes. "We needed that badly."



Part 4

But Can't We Do Something About It . . .

The note penned by a student who attended the 1966 Great Cities summer project to her favorite teacher was written in wobbly script. But its message curved straight to the point: "You and Mrs . . . are the most and the nicest ladies in the school. I love it here in the afternoon more than I do at my house . . . it seems like home."

This student had been failing most of her subjects during the regular school term. Drugstores and movie matinees were more fun. School made her chew her fingernails and worry, and worrying made her want to sleep. But there were no report cards in the six-week summer project in disadvantaged schools.

That made a difference.

Even teachers, the student's sharp eye noted, appreciated that summer. Aides did all the clerical work and teachers were teaching, sometimes in wild, wacky, wonderful ways.

Whatever made the difference, the student liked it. This was the year that thousands of other inner-city youngsters began to think of school as a good place to spend the summer. It was the summer they joined reading clubs and hardly knew they were getting reading instruction. It was the summer they were taken to a play and got to talk about it with the actors afterwards.

In 16 public schools and four parochial schools, about 400 junior high students, identified as likely to drop out when they turned 16, got the intensive treatment of "Operation Go."

Teacher aide trainees made a difference, too. Working directly under a staff member, they aided teachers, did clerical work, helped with custodial and warehousing work and began to see themselves as worthwhile members of the community.

In the Great Cities project and extended school project, overall, at least one-third of the pupils came back for summer work.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was making the real difference. Besides adding 100 more schools to the extended school program headed by Dr. Neubacher, while the 27 Great Cities and 51 original extended schools continued under OEO funding, Title I had a philosophic message. It directed schools to place their major emphasis on doing things to help the most deprived youngsters, the kids who didn't stick around for after-school classes because they were fed-up or disinterested, unmotivated. Title I said compensatory programs had to have a direct impact on the school day; that it was better to give more to the kids who were worse off than little pieces to everyone. The proposal for the six-week summer activity in 100 schools was submitted in early 1966.

Meanwhile, new approaches already were developing within the Great Cities-extended school cluster. Operation Go was one. Beginning in two junior high schools as Operation Go and Operation Explorer early in 1965, Go was an effort to reach students who had not responded to any previous school efforts to involve them in positive experiences. Thirty boys and three teachers were in the early Explorer program; 13 boys, 13 girls and three teachers in the Go program.

During the summer of 1965, specially hand-picked teachers "did everything" with these youngsters, also hand-picked — as those least likely to succeed. It was a program designed to show these youngsters teachers could be people who cared. Teachers and pupils went on picnics together and to parties, toured the city and outstate, visited museums. And teachers were as excited by the program as students.

Dr. Neubacher recalls being swamped with teacher volunteers even though he warned them they would probably end up "working 50 hours a week without overtime" as their involvement deepened.

In Great Cities proper more field trips, more supplies and equipment were being offered. And there was a strong push in the use of community people. More school-community assistants, non-professional community leaders, were introduced into the schools to work with the school-community agent or alone. Assistants assigned to the 178 schools numbered some 300 since many schools split the work load between two assistants to get the maximum community knowledge.

Under the expansion brought about by ESEA, the school also could contract the services of artists and lecturers through the cultural enrichment program. This program acquainted youngsters with the magic world of plays and musicals, concerts and ballets.

The 1966 summer programs, however, represented a peak in federally supported programs operated by the Detroit Public Schools. Project Head Start tried to prepare disadvantaged five-year-olds for kindergarten, while Upward Bound gave 10th graders a taste of college life. Project READ taught unschooled adults to read and write, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps gave students paying jobs. And kids who had never even been out of the city went to the Burt Shurly and Green Pastures camps.

Within Great Cities the summer theater project was the Milan Theater, a resident theatrical company which had performed in the cultural enrichment project. The company entertained 18,000 youngsters in 32 days with an original spoof of a Grimm folktale, "The Fisherman and His Wife." Students especially enjoyed meeting the cast.

Teachers, for their part, enjoyed teaching, as Detroit schools had become the first in the nation to experiment with training teacher aides under the Office of Economic Opportunity.

"It was easy to spot the aggressive one, the quiet one, the clown, the tearful one and the sick one," a teacher chuckled. "Because of the excellent help of the teacher's aide, I could help the problem child by understanding his problem and giving him more individual attention."

Who were these aides and what did they do?

Dora J. was one. Even though she had had a year of college, her best job had been working as a barmaid. Suddenly, she found herself working with a teacher.

"What it did was give me the incentive to want to go back to school. Every day after every session, I could hardly wait to see how long it was going to take me to get down to Wayne."

Another was Mrs. Brown, a housewife who loves children.

"I remember the day I took seven kids out of the room in which the teacher already had her class and we had a reading session," she recalled.

"The children read back to me a story and when they came across a word or phrase or something that they didn't understand, or I felt that they didn't understand, we went to the dictionary or to other reference materials to find out exactly what the word meant. I think it was most informative for the children and myself."

Mrs. S., a former hospital aide, put it more succinctly: "I think there are many students who would have never gotten the necessary help or motivation to stimulate them or make them want to learn without the individual attention of the aide. Someone they felt they could identify with, more or less."

Teachers frankly admitted they had harbored some initial misgivings about use of the aides. One said bluntly: "I was hostile to the idea of having anyone in the classroom with me, other than student help. But I now think there are many good things about the program. Perhaps because it was an experiment we gave aides things to do that we wouldn't normally want them to do. For example, taking over regular teaching tasks, tutoring, administering tests and even making up tests. That way we really found out what they could do."

Another commented on the communication between the aide and the students: "It's terrific in industrial arts. And another thing I noticed was that it makes the teacher a little more conscientious about planning and keeping up and evaluating because as you evaluate with your aide you can't help but do a little bit of soul searching yourself and say, 'Well, I could have done this or that better.' So even though you hate to admit it yourself, you find your own weaknesses, which is good . . ."

And the lessons gained from the summer project were not forgotten that fall when Great Cities got another change in administration.

Following Dr. Marburger's departure from the Detroit schools in July 1966 and Dr. Monacel's move up into administration, Dr. Neubacher had inherited both the extended schools and Great Cities. In September, he incorporated them and reorganized the cultural enrichment program, which had been functioning almost independently. A program to provide educational television programs to schools in disadvantaged areas and a discretionary fund to be used as individual schools thought best also became part of the Great Cities cluster.

The school now was alive with activities, people, programs.

Some youngsters experienced their first burst of enthusiasm for the cultural enrichment program when it sponsored their attendance at a basketball game between the Detroit Pistons and the St. Louis Hawks.

The merged, extended school program continued its original thrust of providing remedial after-school help for youngsters. The school library was kept open as a reading and study center for children lacking a suitable place for home study. Adult education classes covered academic subjects, recreational activities and hobbies. Community and anti-poverty agency groups held meetings at the school. And the volunteer tutor program gave individual help to youngsters.

Most of the volunteers were housewives. But all kinds of people were involved, like the retired fire chief who talked, or the rinky-tink piano player who played. One of the most unusual resource persons was the "tree lady."

She was the elderly, former curator of a museum. And she loved trees.

"Look out the window," she began her talk to youngsters. "There are no middle-aged trees out there!"

After everyone was properly impressed — and mystified — she told them how the great oaks were left there from the days when the land was farm land; the new trees, little sticks, were planted as people moved in; but the generation of trees in between had been destroyed by cattle herds. Youngsters usually were so entranced by the "tree lady's" presentation that they began to look closely at the trees in their own neighborhoods, trying to estimate ages.

The main thing these volunteers did, however, was tutoring — taking a youngster into a nook or hallway and giving him special help in a subject where he was having difficulty. In some cases they worked with a small group of youngsters right in the classroom with a teacher.

Some with special skills in the humanities gave music or art lessons. One woman polished Petoskey stones. She was paired with a youngster who acted out his aggressions by pushing youngsters and tossing things. This youngster so enjoyed grinding away on Petoskey stones that he produced beautiful jewelry.

Some volunteers did clerical work. Some were transporters, women with station wagons, each taking two youngsters on the whole range of field trips.

And a few of these volunteers were college students. Students from Wayne State University tutored kids from one inner-city school on the Wayne campus, as much to show them the campus was "real" as to aid them with their subjects.

Unlike the teacher aides, however, these volunteers mainly were prosperous whites from the suburbs. In the beginning, volunteer program director Aileen Selick recalls, some were pretty "slum-shocked" and many good intentions tended to go astray. When a civic group, for example, decided to give food baskets to needy families, the prime ingredient in the baskets was a large raw turkey, which the average poor family lacked the equipment to cook.

And other new people were discovering the school that fall of 1966.

The new service aide lived in the neighborhood and her son attended the school, though she hadn't been too frequent a visitor. On her first day of monitoring the hall, she felt a twinge in her stomach — the walls in a school are sometimes cold walls. But soon she learned an important lesson: you took a deep breath and pretended they were your own kids.

And after her first few days the aide was ready to tell everyone in the community what was going on in the school, how all sorts of people were there — assistant attendance officers to investigate absences, issue work permits, alert counselors to chronic cases and investigate requests for free lunches, supplies, books and bus fare; material and clerical aides to sell tickets and assist on field trips; and the speech correctionist.

Probably the speech correctionist was the person who impressed the aide most. He had been working in the Great Cities project since it began in the school. And under the extended school program he had developed two successful projects.

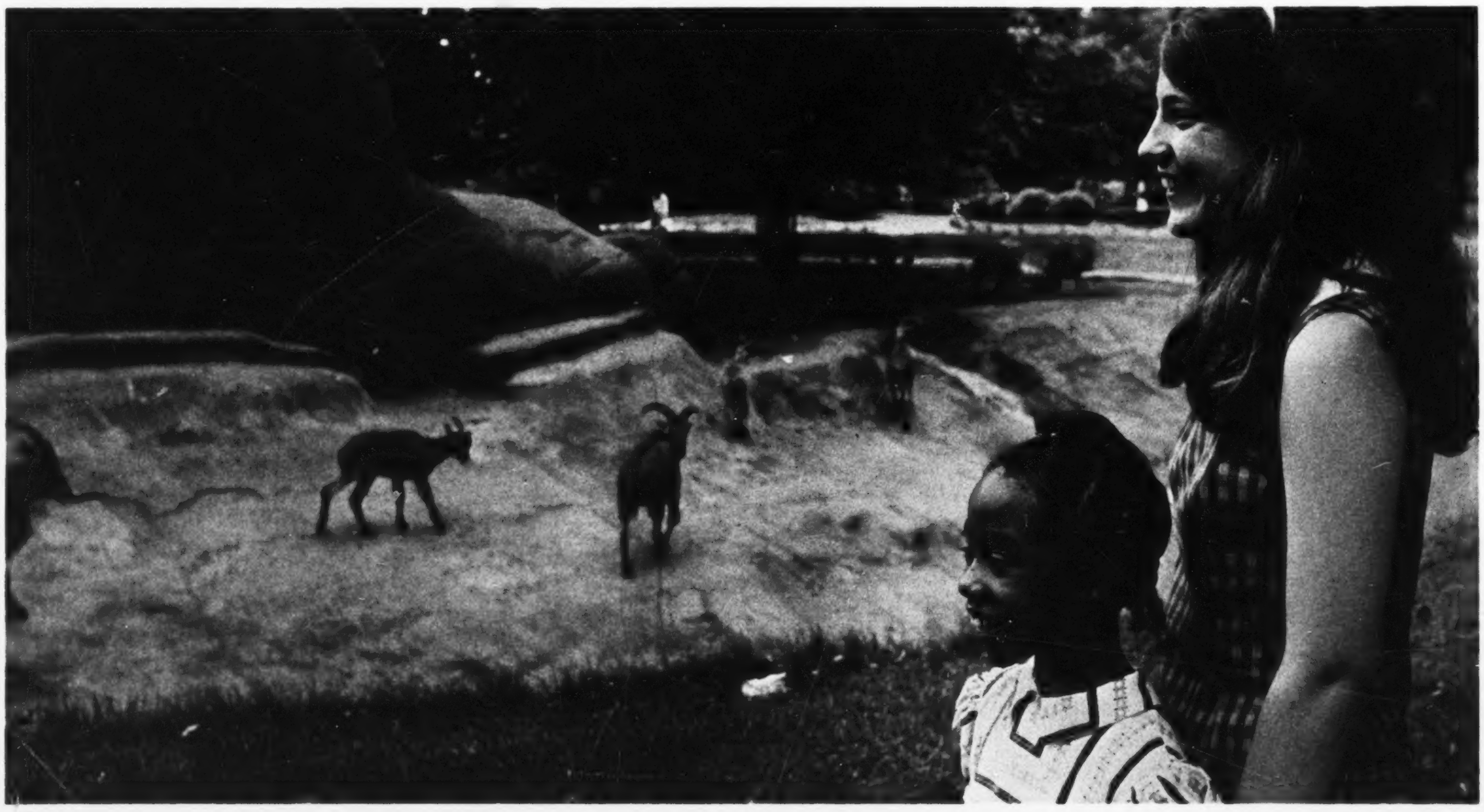
One was the college clinic; the other was vocabulary-building. Students who took vocabulary-building increased their vocabulary from as low as 3,000 words to 20,000 through the study of prefixes, roots and stems.

The college clinic had even more impact. Students were steered toward college work through an orientation in library skills, test-taking, budgeting time, doing research, thinking by analogy. They learned the type of questions to look for on examinations, how to speedread and how to study for examinations. As a result, record numbers of students were on the honor roll and won college scholarships from his school in 1966.

The correctionist said students sometimes waited hours for the class, 40 to 50 jamming each session.

Finally, the school's reading coordinator also had begun to find keys that opened doors. One was working with potential teachers before they reached the classroom. Thirty-three college students were coming to her once a week for instruction in the teaching of reading and practical classroom experience. And, in response to the genuine groundswell of concern beginning to rise from the community, the coordinator, too, was going into homes.

The women gathered to hear her, oblong curlers slanting from heads, eyes baggy, slacks or housedresses sometimes soiled. But they wanted to talk, in plain language, about how they could help their children break through the blank wall raised by environment; overcome their verbal deficiencies; "read."

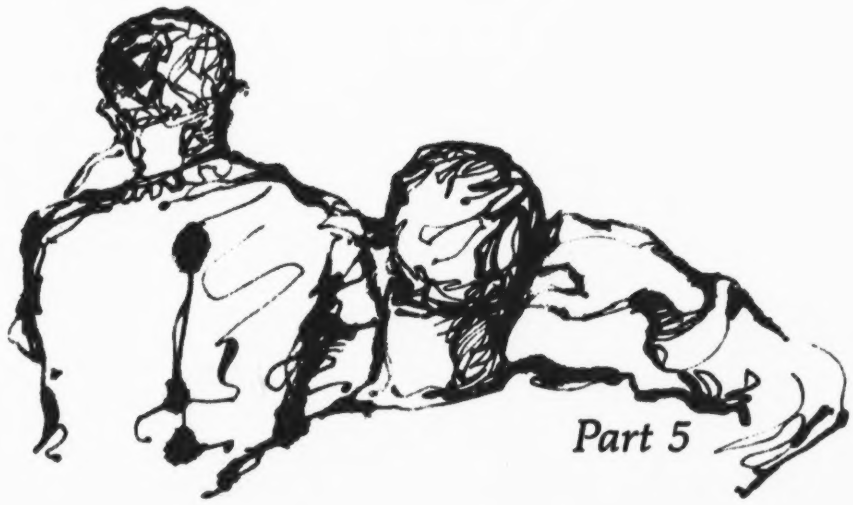


At the school, the coordinator had a separate room to house paperbacks and magazines, and team-taught with a block of teachers in the reading resource room. She was proud of the new materials she had helped develop and was using in the school, including a self-image inventory that helped educators begin to work with youngsters' specific problems at an early age.

More importantly, she now was aware of what the community wanted from its schools and how far it was willing to go in support of it. She felt she had at least been successful in introducing a new role that had hope for improving the academic competencies of youth.

She even believed her role had great implications for the future as staff became more efficient and as children showed improvement as a group.

"We were beginning to have individual success stories. I believed one day we would have city-wide ones, for we were making constant assessment, constant search."



Part 5

. . . In The Future?

The Great Cities program and other federal projects late in 1967 were thinner than they had been. Moving in the only direction a restless community and an only partially committed Congress would allow, the special projects staff had carved meat from nearly every federal program to make one prize pie — smaller class sizes.

A wide range of special programs were pared, beginning in the fall of 1967. Funds then were concentrated in 35 "hard-core" poverty-area schools, where they were used to trim kindergarten through second grade classes to 25 students.

Several of the cuts came in programs in the Great Cities cluster. The cultural enrichment program, discretionary funds, supplies, materials and equipment and educational television all were reduced considerably. Others cut back included Continuing Education for Pregnant Girls, Project FAST (Federal Assistance for Staff Training) and the Communication Skills Centers.

A large part of the reason for reorganizing funds and schools was ESEA's Title I, which directed school systems to help the most needy youngsters. Schools, thus, in 1967 were designated as "A", "B" or "C", depending on the percentages of students they contained from low-income families and other criteria. The 70 schools with at least 55 percent of the student body having many disadvantages were classified "A" schools and given the first opportunity to participate in Great Cities and other Title I programs.

Fifty-two "B" schools were next in priority while 127 "C" schools received only services for an entire group such as cultural enrichment, educational television and after-school remedial courses. Sixty-eight qualifying non-public schools also are participating in Title I programs.

With improvement of disadvantaged youngsters' academic skills a prime goal, free textbooks were given to 18,000 youngsters attending public and non-public "A" schools. Teams of elementary and curriculum coordinators began providing counseling and guidance and reorganizing curriculums to meet the special needs of the most disadvantaged. Teacher consultants are providing continuous substitute and additional teacher service in schools with the lowest academic achievement.

"We are redirecting our funds to meet the critical, demanded reduction in class size," Dr. Monacel explained. "This is what the community, teachers and staff have always said they wanted; this is what we're attempting to do.

"We are also going to concentrate more and more on providing special services to the schools with the largest numbers of multiple-handicapped youngsters. There would be a great hue and cry if services to some schools were cut out completely, all at once; so that is why we are continuing to give some services to the "C" schools."

Great Cities components were able to continue to operate, in most cases, by shifting their emphasis, he said. The cultural enrichment program, for instance, did not sign any contracts for the 1967-68 year with the Detroit Repertory theater or the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, which had toured schools and given special performances. But the project was able to produce cultural projects on a school-by-school basis by using the talents of local artists.

And in the Great Cities project as a whole, the thrust to involve the community in the life of the school and school people in the affairs of the community was reinforced by the publication of a lengthy study of the effects of community involvement in the schools by the University of Michigan.

The study pointed to the fact that, historically, schools and their communities have stood at various distances from each other. In the suburban communities, the authors stated, parents sometimes have been too close to the schools, influencing many policies and practices through their own personal power, prestige or knowledge.

In the cities, on the other hand, schools and their communities have never been close enough, parents tending to apathy and schools to aloofness.

In suburban schools, the authors stress, there is a need for schools to adopt more formal arrangements for dealing with parents — they need to be made to go through certain channels. But in the city, the means of reaching the people need to be less formal and they also need to be initiated by the schools.

The authors cited the use of the "detached worker" — the school-community agent — in four Great Cities schools in Detroit as the best method devised for bringing the community into the schools.

Only when schools and their communities operate at a "moderate" distance from each other, the authors said, can the kind of feedback occur which allows each to try to give the other what it wants.

The authors also discussed another focal point of the Great Cities philosophy: the need for raising the level of teacher expectations.

Differences in the reading achievements of youngsters in the city and youngsters in the suburbs cannot be solely accounted for by differences in staff training, teacher-student ratios, race of the staff or newness of the building, the authors stated.

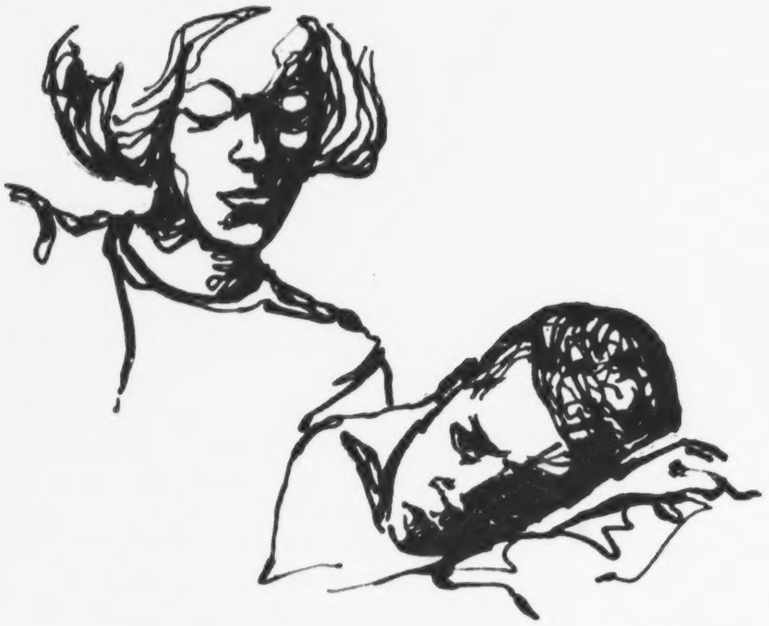
What these differences really point to is the need to develop special teaching procedures in low-income areas, where teacher biases are affecting so many youngsters, the study contends. The authors claimed a much larger group of teachers in Detroit than in the suburbs had negative expectations regarding the intelligence of their pupils, whom they did not feel would graduate from high school.

The implications of the U-M study are being sifted carefully by the special projects staff. "What it says," points out Dr. Monacel, "is that our approach was right. We were trying to do the right thing. We can only hope that, in the future, as we institute our new programs and do more research, we will know success."

CHAPTER 2

" THE GREATEST INTELLECTUAL GROWTH TAKES PLACE BY THE TIME A CHILD IS EIGHT YEARS OLD."—DR. ARTHUR ENZMANN, DIRECTOR, EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION.

Maybe If We Start Early



His name was Andy, and his memories stretched back nearly to the womb. They were dark memories of sleepless nights when he was gripped by the fear and could not move. The fear had a dank, raw smell, and it was everywhere in the cold, housing project room. Andy could only cry his despair, cry on into the night, while beside his cot his helpless mother huddled.

When he was three, he picked up a comic book tossed aside by one of his older brothers and began to read it. People began dropping into the little room and idling, secretly watching Andy out of the corners of their eyes. One day someone left him a storybook. Soon, leaving things for him became a pattern. Andy read and read and read. But he also cried and cried — his fear would not leave.

Andy had become something of a legend in his neighborhood by the time members of the Preschool Child and Parent Education Project began their search for gifted lower-income children. Someone within the project quickly mentioned him to director Bert Pryor. Pryor had been seeking bright inner-city youngsters to refer to a suburban school for the gifted, which had pledged partial scholarships for youngsters who could be found.

No one doubted Andy was gifted. At the suburban school, it was expected that his ability would enable him to blend in with the others. But school officials found Andy's behavior to be more typical of schizophrenia than of brilliance. He subsequently was placed in a child care clinic.

His harried mother considered it the best thing that ever had happened either to her son or herself.

"Nobody ever knew about the problems I had," she told project officials, "and nobody really cared. They just wanted to see him read."

Andy now is receiving psychiatric treatment, getting an early start toward becoming a normal, productive boy. And trying to reach disadvantaged youngsters early while they still can be stimulated to achievement is a primary aim of Detroit's preschool programs. Included are year-round and summer Head Start and Follow Through — all outgrowths of fledging Great Cities preschool programs. A Basic Reading Demonstration Project also is underway, testing six different methods of teaching reading.

The greatest intellectual growth takes place by the time a child is eight years old — 70 to 80 percent, believes Dr. Arthur Enzmann, head of the Early Childhood Education Department. "The greater length of time we have to work with the child during these years, the greater the benefits to the child and ultimately to society."

Dr. Enzmann said that between 900 and 1,000 youngsters currently are enrolled in the 10-month preschool program for three- and four-year-olds on a two-year basis. Head Start is a short-term summer program for approximately 6,500 five-year-olds entering kindergarten. And the pilot program Follow Through now is providing special services in the primary grades to Head Start graduates.

Only about three percent of the youngsters who should be enrolled are being served, however, by the limited preschool program, Dr. Enzmann revealed. Whether these youngsters will retain the benefits of these early educational efforts as they move through school is also in question, though it is hoped an expanded Follow Through will be the answer.

These are the children of poverty. Children who, like Andy, may lack an organized family or a parent able to effectively guide their early development. They are children who may be confined to one neighborhood or one building, children who have never explored the world outside.

They may never have heard standard English or have been directly spoken to at all. Their muscle coordination may be poor, their ability to listen, remember and distinguish what they are seeing, hearing or feeling, retarded.

These children can be educated. But starting to school at five, they face the prospect of a standard curriculum which assumes they have had certain kinds of experiences, middle-class experiences like seeing the whole range of colors, that enable them to respond to this curriculum.

They may be in a class with children having many different kinds of problems. They, themselves, may be disturbed. They may have a teacher who neither understands nor has been trained to cope with these problems. There may be too many children in the class for her to try. All too often, such children become lost, dropouts as soon as they come of age.

Preschool programs, more and more, are being viewed as a solution. Michigan's Head Start involvement is one of the longest. Established under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, some 125 child development centers serviced 6,000 children in groups of 15 in the summer of 1965. By fall, a year-round program had been launched.

The seven-week summer Head Start program gave youngsters for five days, three hours a day, healthy doses of the arts, games and field trips in an attempt to orient them toward school, oral expression, muscle coordination and getting along with other youngsters. A school health coordinator, in charge of administering medical examinations for children in school-related, anti-poverty projects, directed Head Start's extensive medical program, including medical and dental examinations. Breakfast also was provided for the youngsters.

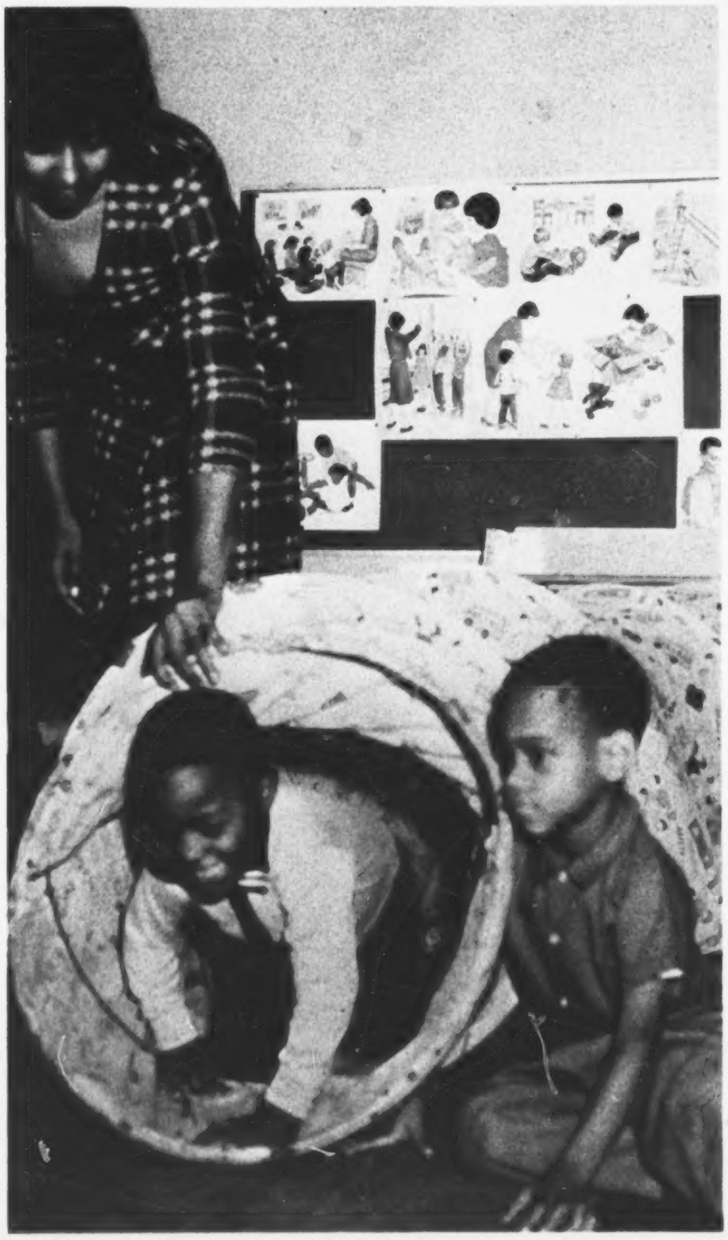
And groundwork was laid for the heavy involvement of parents that now characterizes Detroit's program, in line with OEO guidelines calling for over 51 percent of Head Start advisory committees to be composed of parents.

Head Start parents were urged to attend parent seminars and parent education workshops. Teachers, released one afternoon a week to work with parents, found themselves not only interpreting the program, but participating in cooking and nutrition discussions as well as holding regular parent-teacher conferences.

In the 10-month Preschool Child and Parent Education Project, important parts of the program were weekly conferences with parents, as well as joint parent-student activities such as field trips.

The nurseries sprinkled throughout the inner city, however, are the key to the year-round preschool program. Ten were established under OEO, serving 400 children. Each one had a teacher working with 15 students. The classroom team also included a teacher aide and an assistant teacher. A full-time psychologist had direct contact with both children and parents.

Both Head Start and preschool programs try to activate youngsters' little-used senses. The goal is to make them see, hear, feel, smell, taste and eventually think about a variety of objects to prepare them for the abstract thinking they will have to do later on in school. Since the program is aimed at preschool children, it includes a good deal of free playtime with toys; but introductions to art and music, and language development are woven into the program. Snack preparation becomes an educational game with youngsters setting the table. The language development period may include puppetry, singing or story dramatization. A final period is devoted to story-telling, poetry or music to increase youngsters' listening skills.



The assisting teacher in some preschool centers also works with children, once or twice weekly, following a planned language enrichment program. And use of the teacher aide can be very important. Besides relieving a teacher of clerical and routine duties, the aide may assist her in intangible ways. She may comfort a child at the crucial moment when he needs attention, right after skinning his knee, for instance, while the teacher continues activities with the rest of the class.

Pryor is proud of the fact that parents have been successfully involved in the preschool program, which now includes an additional 15 nurseries under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Many needs and interests emerge during the weekly meetings of these parents with preschool personnel. Ways are sought to help them solve their problems and function more efficiently as parents and homemakers.

Formation of buying clubs has been one result of this activity. The cooperative buying clubs are now operating out of three of the Detroit schools and a fourth has been organized because of the efforts of a preschool aide. The buying clubs have been concentrating on bulk purchases of fruits and vegetables, with members getting $3 worth of food for every $2 they spend. The groups average about 22 persons each.

Complete participation is accomplished by selecting different members, operating in smaller groups, to take care of the buying, packaging, sorting, and distribution. Shopping has been confined to an Eastside market complex which offers wholesale prices on bulk buying and is near the homes of many of the parents. Each club member contributes $2 — $1 for a package of fruit and $1 for vegetables (he can spend more if he likes). By the time all the money is collected, there's at least $44, which buys a substantial amount of food at wholesale prices.

"The members like getting $3 worth of food for every $2 spent so well," said preschool's Jim Brogden, "that they are beginning to consider also buying in other areas, such as poultry, dairy products and meat."

Parent recruitment is accomplished primarily through the social work aide. This aide, increasingly, is a community person who is considered a "good neighbor" and can recruit families, make home visits and referrals, and serve as a general liaison person. The social work aide, after training by social workers, also can serve as a bridge between families and social agencies.

These aides, according to project director Pryor, provide an invaluable link between family and preschool and family and community. "They have already demonstrated," he said, "a unique ability to interpret our program to the community in a way which is impossible for the professional. The role of aide is clearly defined from the beginning as being one of a concerned neighbor. They are not intended to fill the role of a junior social worker."

A part-time crib-toddler aide tends the nursery on parent meeting day to fill the void left by the social work aide's labors in the community.

Solving family problems such as a need for health services is the function of the social worker, working with various social agencies. The emphasis on developmental needs and emotional problems is reflected in the fact that the program has a full-time psychologist. And many of the children entering the program have emotional problems of varying degrees.

Two brothers, Sam and Stan, for instance, could only communicate by abusing each other. If Sam wanted to play with Stan's toy, he snatched it and raked Stan's face with his nails. If Stan admired something Sam had, he dashed mud on him and scooted away. Now as part of a group participating daily in cooperative activities with other children, the brothers have learned that violence prevents them from achieving their goals.

An example of startling language improvement occurred in the sister of these two boys, who was placed in preschool's special enrichment class for youngsters severely deficient in language use. She, like her brothers, was non-verbal — unaware of the use or effectiveness of words. But, unlike them, she had no substitutes. Her world was one of gray, deadening silence and occasional whimpers. On the rare instances when she spoke, she could not be understood. After receiving highly individualized instruction in a class of 10 she now is able to talk.

Despite the effectiveness of Head Start and preschool programs in motivating youngsters, they spawned a dilemma: Would youngsters really retain these early gains? A small Detroit sample tested in 1967 showed a short-term gain of more than five I.Q. points. But a national study already had indicated that the gains achieved by children attending preschool programs often were wiped out later because of the lack of follow-up by good teachers in small classes.

Follow Through was the next logical step.

Detroit is one of the 30 school districts selected to participate in the program. National plans call for an expanded program serving more children and more communities and extending services through the second grade.

The Follow Through program began in Detroit in the fall of 1967 with 100 Head Start graduates. The program has four classes and four teachers, meeting all day on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Teachers thus have time for "individualized curriculum and instruction," according to Follow Through assistant director Dr. Rosalind Braden. Reinforcing the efforts of teachers are the psychologist and social worker who spend time in classrooms in an effort to develop "more empathy" with teachers.

"The teacher," said Dr. Braden, "is thereby able to accept criticism from persons who have seen her problems, and also better able to secure much needed adult approval. Youngsters have to see and feel something before they can conceptualize and explain life. A youngster sees a walnut in a shell, maybe for the first time. Then, for lunch, he has walnuts in his cake. Or he tastes Koolaid without sugar and learns the meaning of bitterness. In the process of adding sugar to the Koolaid, he is acquainted with one of the elements of science — a mixture."

Follow Through personnel already have learned that some hunger is soul-deep.

May is the youngest and plumpest of 10 children. Food fascinates her. She has never refused a morsel, gulping everything down with a blank stare. On her block, they call her "the pig." Last summer, May was in Head Start and she has gone on to Follow Through, leaving a trail of crumbs behind her. The Follow Through staff does not comment on May's hunger.

"Food may be used to satisfy cravings other than physical hunger," her teacher explained. "We don't believe eating should be associated with retaliation, obedience, disobedience, reward, or punishment or used as a means to inflict guilt feeling."

The total team including teacher, teacher-aide, psychologist, social worker, volunteer, principal, health coordinator, and in some cases project director, nutritionist, school-community agent, and reading coordinator, meets three hours once every two weeks to discuss the problems of individual children. They have decided positive reinforcement is a good way to develop sound behavior patterns in youngsters. A shy youngster who refuses to play with his classmates is never told he is doing wrong. Instead, he is given a star when he does participate.

Another child who is emotionally disturbed, requires an even more careful approach. This child has such a low frustration level that whenever he is thwarted or disappointed, he loses control of himself. In the beginning, this occurred at least six times daily. The Follow Through psychologist decided it was best not to punish the child, since he was already receiving extensive punishment at home. For the same reason, officials were anxious to keep the child in school until he could be referred to a psychological clinic.

Yet personnel knew it would be a mistake to encourage the youngster's behavior. The solution agreed upon was to

have an adult volunteer to take the child out of the classroom when he became disruptive and tell him he could return when he regained control of himself. After a week this approach, which shifted responsibility onto the child, had had such a good effect that the services of the volunteer were no longer required. It now was possible the youngster would get through the day without a seizure.

Dr. Enzmann, who heads the project, considers both Head Start and Follow Through, "pioneering efforts" in the areas of reducing class size at the primary level and involving parents in the education of their children. He also feels such programs encourage more focus in the classroom on the individual child and his particular rate of growth.

"We are still in our infancy in terms of making this involvement truly profitable," he admits, "but we are committed to making certain that children are challenged to use their abilities to the fullest extent."

He pointed to the Basic Reading Demonstration Project as a further example of classroom experimentation. This project has youngsters in it like Belinda. She is a happy child who giggles all over herself and gushes out a steady stream of conversation. One thing she's pretty close-mouthed about is her reading class. Belinda is a sworn secret agent and cannot afford to let such information get into the wrong hands.

Belinda is learning the Initial Teaching Alphabet (ITA) approach to reading. Since it is important that she not read the books of her brothers and sisters, her teacher has told her she is learning a secret code. In a way, the teacher is right. Both ITA and Unifon have an expanded alphabet which includes symbols related to the sounds of spoken English.

The other four mediums being measured in 19 inner city schools use the traditional alphabet but with differing emphases. One is heavily phonetic, while another places its emphasis upon the new linguistics. The third uses an individualized instruction approach and the fourth, or basal, uses a variety of approaches with a heavy emphasis on understanding and comprehension.

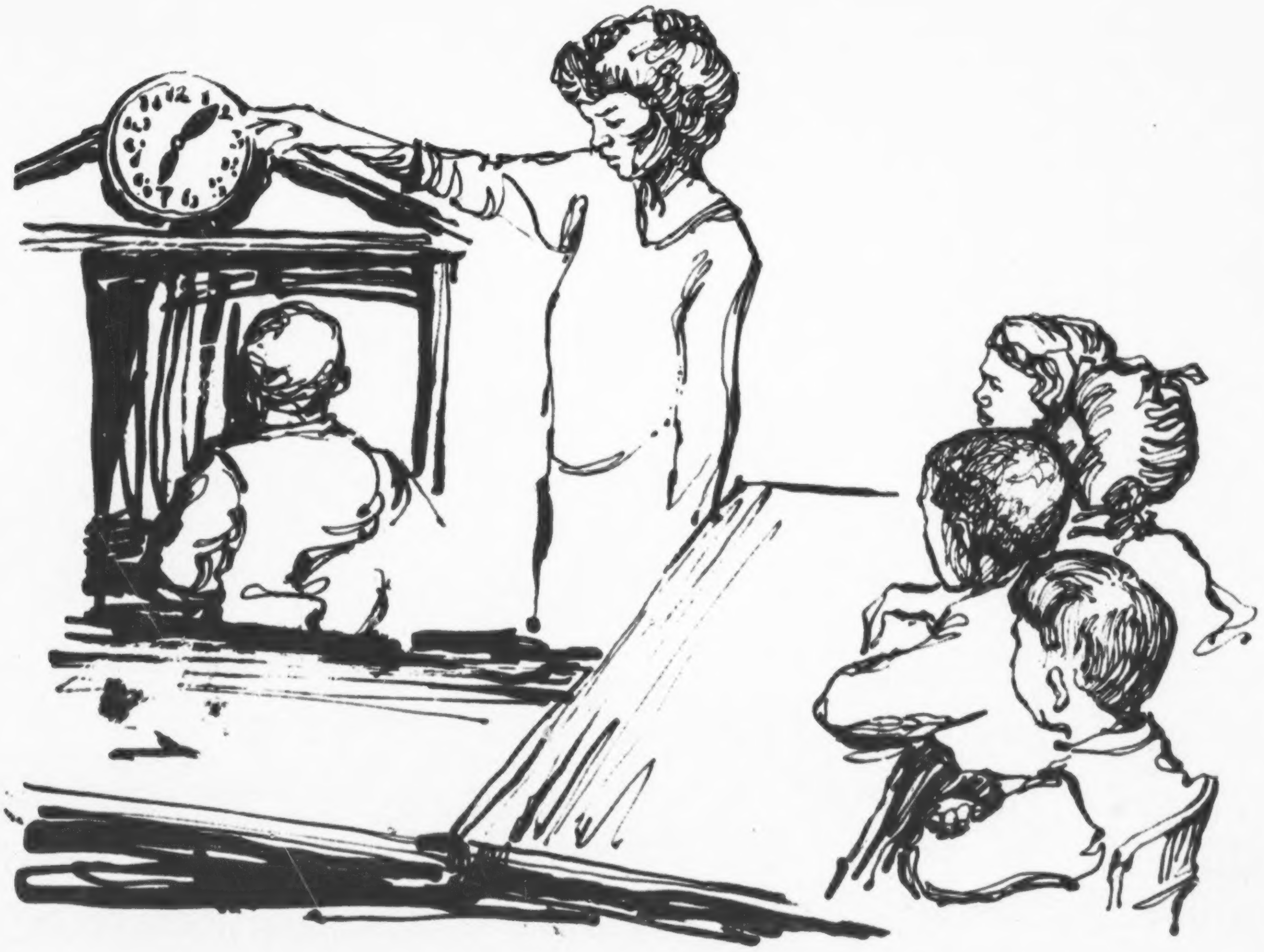
Additional services aiding project schools have included supplies and published materials, consultant services for classroom teachers, part-time classroom lay aides, workshop and in-service training, inter-school visitations, library materials to individual classrooms and other services and materials recommended by the experimenting teachers.

To determine the strengths and weaknesses of each medium, the Stanford Achievement Test and California Test of Mental Maturity and Primary Mental Ability were being administered at intervals throughout the three-year study, slated to end June, 1968.

But the project had the additional goal of testing the quantity and quality of the services of lay aides working in classrooms under the supervision of teachers. This emphasis on performance probably was crucial, for an interim report by Dr. Enzmann spotlighted the fact that the quality of a teaching staff is more important than the method used for teaching reading.

"No one medium and method appears to insure total success with all children," agrees project director Mark Mahar. "Multi-media, multi-method approaches seem to offer the greatest assurance for success."

These approaches, Belinda and her teacher feel, offer the greatest opportunity for working up a little intrigue.



CHAPTER 3

"DISCRIMINATION, FOR SO MANY YEARS, HAS KILLED THE ASPIRATIONS OF THESE YOUNGSTERS."—DR. GEORGE LEONARD, DIRECTOR, DEVELOPMENTAL CAREER GUIDANCE PROJECT.

Maybe If They Had A Reason

Part 1

I Like My Job Except

Andrew is a sullen-mouthed boy who makes a game of dragging his feet. Each day, he saunters to work, 15 minutes late, his breakfast in a bag. On good days, a peanut-butter sandwich is in the bag; on bad days only oranges. Andrew eats slowly, staring straight ahead of him. He is a good worker, strong and stern, but not expected to last on his job.

Timothy, on the other hand, is not a good worker. On weekends, he drinks cheap wine and drifts, looking for the girls. And his weekends spill over into his job, for he can't resist telling people what a good time he has. So Timothy ends up dragging his feet, too, and unintentionally offending people.

Yet, there also is Billy who "practically runs" his place of employment, and there is Mike, who used to live in a boys' reformatory and is always rushing around, doing errands for people.

Trainees in federally sponsored work-training programs aren't all alike, and neither are these programs. School drop-outs at the verge of plunging into crime or poverty or plain despair require the short-term, intensive training of the Job Upgrading program. A 14-year-old enrollee in the in-school work-training program, on the other hand, may only need enough pocket change to make him feel like a man. But senior high boys and girls must really feel they can do a job well.

The department of work-adjustment programs tries to coordinate the various work-training programs for youth so that each meets the needs of its enrollees, according to director, Dr. Elvin Rasof. The first step at which the schools try to involve youngsters in work-adjustment is at the junior high level where approximately 1,000, a fourth of them from parochial schools, are usually enrolled.

"A part of the maturation stage of a child is having a part-time job," explains Dr. Rasof. "The kid needs an opportunity to grow by working with an adult and getting a reward. A kid in an affluent home can take care of his room and get paid. In the inner-city, part-time jobs no longer are too available. Since the community cannot provide this kind of opportunity, schools have had to artificially construct them."

The junior high program, popularly referred to as High Start, has been criticized for not teaching youngsters specific skills, but Dr. Rasof pointed out that trainees are acquiring job tolerance: the knowledge of how to conduct oneself on a job, and how to get along with others. They also are getting, at an early age, basics that are not really skills, but parts of skills, such as the ability to operate various kinds of office machines.

The most important thing at this age level, however, is motivating a youngster to want to graduate from high school, Dr. Rasof added. The typical enrollee in High Start is usually around 14. He probably has poor grades, hovering around a "D." He has often been tardy. But he wants a job and has probably volunteered for one. He is usually a Negro and is two grades behind in his reading. He is from a lower-income, fatherless home, where five or six other children compete for attention as well as food and clothing. He is poorly dressed and feels a little shabby inside, too. Probably, he has begun to think about dropping out.

"Giving him an incentive to stay in school is probably most important at this age," says Ulysses Harvey, High Start director. "We also have begun to put emphasis on the kids who have been in trouble, because they are most likely to become drop-outs."

Youths in Junior High Start are paid $1 an hour and work on an average of seven hours a week on job sites within the schools. A teacher supervises them and six full-time professional counselors work with groups to build good work habits and encourage youngsters to stay in school.

"One dollar an hour may not seem like very much," says Dr. Rasof, "but if you think back to how you felt when you first started to earn your own money and the feeling of dignity and independence it gave you, you will know how these youngsters feel."

What can these youngsters do in school? They can be receptionists, book store, food store, tutoring, shop or department aides. Or they can be library aides, stage crew helpers, custodial assistants, office helpers, lab assistants or locker room assistants.

The six counselors in the program are responsible for six schools each. Each junior high in the program also has its own offices for counseling. Youngsters in the program sometimes even receive a taste of college life to help motivate them to complete their education. Oakland University officials, for instance, permitted the youngsters to use the athletic facilities on the campus and treated them to lunch during their visit there. In the summer of 1968, some youngsters held jobs at Oakland.

A scholarship project was initiated by program officials in the belief it would motivate youngsters to assure them of financial aid if their records warranted admission to college. Procedures thus were established in the junior high for identifying recipients for such incentive scholarships and bringing them to the attention of potential donors. The 1966 summer period represented an extension of the regular work-training school year. Over 200 schools were involved.

Mary Jones was one enrollee, an angry, proud girl with a storehouse of grudges, small and large, that she harbored against the world. Teachers were a big one. When Mary reported for work in the library, she found that she did not like this teacher-supervisor either. She once had asked Mary to remove some gum from her mouth.

The teacher soon discovered that the real problem was that Mary did not like being told what to do -- under any circumstances. After counseling her that taking suggestions, and even orders, was a necessary part of any job, the teacher began to probe deeper into Mary:

"We discussed the chewing gum incident, and her likes and dislikes of teachers, pupils and people in general. I told her that from time to time we would have our little conferences and I encouraged her always to feel free to discuss any problem with me."

Soon Mary was ready to talk. She told her teacher about her home and about the things she wanted to do and how she disliked people because they seemed to dislike her. The teacher bluntly told her that she wasn't in school to like teachers, although she should, but to learn.

Mary's teacher also expressed concern for Mary's behavior in other classes and about her personal appearance. At first, the girl wore dirty clothes to school and let her hair go uncombed. After a few weeks, she became neater. On the advice of her teacher, she also began trying to save at least a dollar out of each check.

Mary began to feel all teachers weren't necessarily bad, and her teacher began to see her in a slightly different light, too — understanding the yearning for love that made her seek it everywhere.

The relationship between Mary and her teacher is an example of what Dr. Rasof calls altered perception. "Kids having to work with teachers usually involves a certain trauma. Following involvement, the kid perceives the teacher differently, and the teacher also gets to see the child differently."

Altered perception occurred in the teacher who passed a High Start youngster, considered the worst behaved in the school, who was vigorously scrubbing a wall, and had the experience of having the youngster speak to him politely. And principals are full of stories about boys and girls who made drastic changes in their appearances—as Mary did—on joining the program.

The appearance of schools also has been changed for the better. Youngsters who work in lunchrooms become aware of such things as the amount of litter kids leave on floors. High Start youngsters have been observed picking up paper in hallways, following their new awareness.

After youngsters get out of junior high, they are eligible for the senior high program, where part of the goal is to enable youngsters to go directly into at least part-time employment.

The typical senior high enrollee is like the one in junior high, except this trainee is more likely to be a girl, and about 16½ years old. She probably has failed one semester and is looking for some adult to cling to for advice and direction. She is more highly motivated than the junior high

IT'S CALLED SIP AND:
1 you learn sales techniques
2 you work Part time on a Job
3 you PrePare for the future
CONTE

student; she is thinking of work, of sex, and of all the world's anxieties. And she is somewhat afraid of failure and of the coming responsibilities of adulthood and the world of work.

Under the senior high work-training program, such youngsters are able to work up to 15 hours a week and receive $1.25 an hour. Eight counselors conduct weekly group meetings for the enrollees on work habits and grooming. Students also receive guidance on the job from their supervisor.

Project director Julius Smith said that especially strong efforts were beginning to be made to give boys jobs other than menial ones. "The new philosophy is to move them out of the menial tasks and place them in positions girls have occupied."

As an example of this new approach, he cited the fact that a student from Northern High school was being placed in the chambers of a Circuit Court Judge "and not for cleaning up."

Cooperation with other federal programs also leads to jobs higher in status for many enrollees. The senior high program works closely with the Preschool Child and Parent Education Project, which has a great need for boys to serve as teacher aides, and provides often fatherless youngsters with a "male image."

In another example of cooperation with other federal programs, needy girls from the Continuing Education for Pregnant Girls Program sometimes are employed in schools after they have given birth. Half-way houses steer kids to the senior high program — the in-school arm of the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) — and so does the probation department.

The NYC also has worked with the school volunteer program. Some NYC youngsters tutored elementary youngsters in a public library supervised by two volunteers. Dr. Rasof is especially proud of the fact that of the 18 failure-prone kids who have been tutored almost a full semester in the program, all 18 have passed and eight were double-promoted.

Despite these efforts, many still drop out. They are young men, mainly, and those who cannot find work stand on street corners in certain parts of town. Their heads may be shiny with their badge of middle-class defiance — the "process" — which in turn is held down by a bandana. Seemingly, they are youths with nothing but time on their hands. Most of the time they also have chronic problems.

Helping a youngster after he already has decided school has nothing to offer him, after he perhaps has fallen into the pattern of lower-class Negro male drifting, can be infinitely more difficult than trying to reach him through an in-school program.

Job Upgrading tries to do this, and it is not always successful. The average enrollee in this intensive work-training and orientation program is likely to be a special education kid who got through the 11th grade, has a severe family conflict, and perhaps was suspended from school. He may have a child. He is from a lower-income family, but not necessarily a poverty-stricken one. His instructors would describe him as lacking in responsibility and dependability, having poor attendance. He is the kind of enrollee who keeps Job Upgrading classes jammed.

Up to five years ago, the program had shown steady growth from its birth at one school in 1949 to 11 centers currently. When other federally sponsored work programs were instituted under OEO and the Manpower Development and Training Act, it was expected that enrollment would decline in Job Upgrading. Instead, it has increased. Enrollment was up to 538 in 1967 from 516 in 1966, despite a reduction of the number of centers from 18 to 16. Some 450 young people in 1967 were being followed-up by teachers who kept in contact with them, and 152 were on work experiences.

During the first 16 years of its operation, only slightly more than 50 percent of the 18,000 dropouts referred to the various Job Upgrading centers were able to be accepted for enrollment. Success in remaining in full-time employment or returning to regular school for a six-month period was achieved by 30 percent of those leaving the program. About one-third returned to school and the remaining one-third received additional help or were lost through transciency or pregnancy.

The trainees, aged 15 to 20, attend daily classes where they receive individual counseling. Group conferences are designed to help them with their personality problems, grooming and work habits. Trainees also are required to complete written lesson sheets, dealing with such matters as personal data, employment application forms, review arithmetic and spelling, and personal qualities employers require. Personnel, however, complain that these lesson sheets need updating, and attempts were being made to revise them with ESEA funds. Complaints also are frequent about the absence at present of a strong reading program, due to insufficient funds.

But Job Upgrading aims at being a relatively shorter, more concentrated program for young people who need concentrated help, according to director David Dombey. Arrangements are made for youngsters who have the ability and are interested in returning to regular school. Others can take specific classes to upgrade their employability. A teacher-coordinator selects enrollees, conducts discussions, uses teaching materials, arranges for field trips, works individually with trainees, makes calls to work experience stations and does job development and placement on an individual basis for trainees ready for employment.

Social workers also work with groups of trainees or individuals having problems adjusting to the demands of the program or employment or who seem maladjusted. They also advise teacher-coordinators, do direct work with families and use community resources in behalf of trainees and their families. On-the-job training under careful supervision is provided for about one-third of the trainees. They can work up to 20 hours a week, earning $1.25 an hour. A six-week limit currently is not being enforced, Dombey said, on the theory that longer work experiences may be more helpful.

Dombey stressed, however: "We try not to send them on work experiences until they have earned that privilege. It is generally about a month before they are ready. Sixteen weeks is the average time spent in Job Upgrading. If we can't move them into jobs, we try to move them into community programs."

Trainees work as nurses' aides, orderlies, pharmacy helpers, kitchen helpers, stock boys or film library aides

in hospitals, settlement houses, parks and other places. The ultimate goal after the training period for those not interested or able to return to school is placement into full-time employment. The teacher-coordinator makes personal contact with the trainee for at least six months after he finds employment, returns to regular school or enters some other type of training.

Under the expansion brought about by ESEA in May 1966, eight new teacher-coordinators were hired, and new day centers opened. The program was able to offer more varied and extended work experiences, and a remedial reading teacher was available to 13 centers for the summer. In the 1966-67 year, services had to be spread over a whole year and remedial reading was dropped. During 1967-68, three evening centers were dropped following a cutback in funds.

Dombey points to the program offered in a local hospital as an example of the kind of job experience he would like to stress. Boys in the "traffic control" division move patients and materials in response to calls that come in. The teacher-coordinator has, with the aid of a computer, determined the number of runs an enrollee should be able to make in a day, and young people who cannot meet the quota are moved into other programs. Some 75 percent of the graduates of this program, however, have been employed by the hospital.

This, according to Dombey, is *real* Job Upgrading.

SIP is Special

For three years of high school, Martha held vague notions of becoming a teacher or a lady lawyer. In her senior year, she was ready to face the fact that she would need to be able to earn the money to put herself through college. Martha and the Senior Intensified Program (SIP) were ready for each other.

Since beginning in 11 schools in the 1966-67 school year, SIP has helped many an undecided youngster make plans for his future. It has also introduced a new approach to business education, which focuses on giving a youngster all the skills needed for an entry job in one year.

SIP is jointly operated by Wayne State University and the University of Michigan, under the auspices of the Detroit Public Schools. Students enrolling in the program spend a block of time — from 80 to 120 minutes a day — in the SIP classrooms. During their second semester, they are placed in jobs for from 10 to 16 hours per week. Classes offered in the SIP program include clerk-typist, clerk-stenographer, sales, sales clerk, and data processing.

Of the 180 students in the first year's group, only 14 were unemployed after graduation. Dr. Fred Cook, director of the program, was expecting a similar rate of success with this year's group of 357.

Besides preparing youngsters for entry jobs, SIP allows them to concentrate entirely on communication skills and other essential general education courses during the first two years of high school. Specific needs of the business world were studied before the program was undertaken, and SIP was designed to meet these needs.

The data processing course, for instance, includes the operational skills required to manage modern computers, as well as the key punch, the sorter, the collator, the reproducing punch, the interpreter and the accounting machine. The sales course goes beyond selling into the world of advertising, market research, art — in the form of window display — government regulations, and a study of the place of the consumer in the marketing process.

When the SIP project, originally funded for three years, goes into its third year, Cook is hopeful that some expansion can be made. "This is a realistic program," he says. "Students can move on to regular employment knowing that what they will encounter on the job will not be vastly different from their SIP training."

Part 2

When I Grow Up I'm Gonna Be . . .

Carlos is a dreamer, a weaver of tall tales and a spinner of fat fantasies. Sometimes he imagines he is Tarzan, Lord of the Jungle, going a-ha, a-ha, a-ha through the trees. Other times, he is Wyatt Earp, gunning 'em dead. Lately, however, Carlos has begun thinking it might be nice to be a Tiger — that's spelled with a capital T — and play shortstop for the Detroit baseball club.

The fact that Carlos' dreams have moved a little nearer the possible is due largely to the youngster's participation in something called Developmental Career Guidance. The pilot project, perhaps the most popular of all the federal programs, is based in Kettering Senior High School and its nine feeder schools.

Career Guidance, according to Dr. George Leonard, of Wayne State University's College of Education, who heads it, doesn't claim to do anything so unrealistic as cause elementary school youngsters to choose careers. It does acquaint them with the wide range of careers available — first hand — and gives them something to build hopefully-solid dreams upon.

The professional guidance consultants who work in each school, however, consider their first task that of convincing minority group youngsters that the world does have a place for them if they are prepared.

"Discrimination, for so many years, has killed the aspirations of these youngsters," he said. "We don't deny that there is still much discrimination in some areas or that youngsters won't encounter this, but they won't be so hurt by it if they are prepared, and they will be able to advance."

A basic problem is that youngsters identify mainly with older youngsters and adults in their neighborhoods, he pointed out. If most of the older people a child sees are idle on corners, this is the way he pictures his future.

Before the words hit home the Career Guidance staff in project schools has to actually show minority youngsters, primarily Negroes, that people like them can be successful. Youngsters take on the average of 300 field trips a year to businesses, thanks to the cooperation of the employers in Plans for Progress, the group of private "equal opportunity" employers who are co-sponsors of the project with the Detroit schools and Wayne State.

"We are not concerned with these companies' products or processes, but with their people," explains Leonard. "They have been very cooperative, and a number of them have provided us with Negro role models."

Any professional, technical or white collar Negro may serve as a "role model," particularly if he is male: living proof that some do make it and even go far. And such persons are often brought into the schools to speak to students.

Career Guidance also focuses on individual and group counseling, holding after-school special interest classes, involving parents in field trips and having community aides visit homes. The action phase of the Career Guidance program is only two and one-half years old. Its birth came in 1964 when educators decided school counselors needed to be made more aware of changes in practices on the part of employers and the increasing opportunities for minority youth. Some 50 persons from 15 different schools were brought together for a special careers institute where, among other things, drop-outs told them what was wrong with their respective schools.

The following year, principals and selected staff members of six schools began a preliminary summer program, funded under OEO. By fall, guidance consultants had been added to the schools.

One unique aspect of the program was that it began at the fourth-grade level to acquaint youngsters with the procedures for obtaining a job. Employed on school jobs, youngsters also soon learned that they could be fired or suspended.

Raising the aspiration levels of youngsters, causing them to aim for productive, skilled jobs, is a prime goal. Typically, in an inner city school, this aspiration level drops as a youngster grows older, sees few success models, has trouble with his studies and learns that, for him, there is the barrier of discrimination.

At Kettering, aspiration levels are on the rise. One reason is that project officials work with parents to try and get them to dream dreams for their youngsters, too. Parents often learn as much as their youngsters while accompanying them on tours to businesses. Parents also have attended extended school classes devoted to teaching them how to help their children choose suitable careers.

Career Guidance people aren't particular about how they get their message across to parents, either. One community aide talks to parents about their children while conducting a sewing club. Parent meetings have been held during meetings of block clubs. And 200 fathers recently attended a baseball game that turned into a speech on

Career Guidance.

Personnel had persuaded the Detroit Tigers to donate free tickets to youngsters. But the tickets carried the stipulation that fathers would have to come to a meeting. Urged on by their youngsters, the fathers came to the meeting where they received door prizes and got to see the Tigers. A Career Guidance staffer then gave a brief talk on the importance of the father in the life of his child.

Dr. Leonard pointed out that not too much stress currently is given to individual counseling: "We try to have an atmosphere in the school where kids see this is preparing them for life and see meaning in school."

Involvement of people from the community in the guidance program, however, is central to its success and popularity. At least one local radio personality constantly pushes the program and a local television station has given it editorial praise.

Parents know the Career Guidance program exists and they support it — sometimes to the consternation of other school officials. One region superintendent and several assistant superintendents, for instance, have been besieged with requests from parents outside the Kettering complex for extension of the experimental program to their neighborhood schools.

The involvement of Plans for Progress employers (their slogan is, Things are Changing) has helped to give substance to the program's emphasis on the increasing opportunities for minority group members.

"Plans for Progress organizations can show they are hiring, through a 5 to 10 percent increase in their number of minority group white collar workers over the past two years," Dr. Leonard said. "The number of professional and managerial workers also has increased from 1.5 percent to 4 percent."

Dr. Leonard also pointed to the fact that the Negro middle-class now is the fastest growing socio-economic group in America, even though the lower-class has regressed. To bring home this point, the whole range of skilled Negroes — draftsmen, beauticians, singers and congressmen — have spoken to the young people in project schools. The stress is on occupations for which preparation is needed.

"Kids at this age are building fantasies," Dr. Leonard explained. "But you can't fantasize about careers unless you have some knowledge of them. We try to broaden their perspective."

Even spelling is used to gear youngsters toward careers as various occupational words are interwoven into lessons. Series of talks on job opportunities are held regularly and a handbook, "How to Face Future Success," which lists and describes a wide variety of jobs, their requirements and who should enter them, is used in Career Guidance group sessions.

What has been the effect of the project to date? Examination of the first graduating class from the new Kettering in the spring of 1968 showed that 70 percent of the original group which had been in the project was graduating. This compares with less than 50 percent who probably would have been graduating from the schools formerly servicing youngsters in the area.

"We have found that the level of aspiration of children in the Kettering complex is up, while it's down in other schools," said Dr. Leonard."So if anything is evident it is not only that it is an extremely unique and different approach to make education more meaningful for children, but that it should be extended to include all Detroit public school children, not just those in the inner city."

Getting Close to Kids

They go knocking on doors a lot with questions about kids, bits of information about school programs, invitations to join in special projects. And kids talk about them a lot — how they took them to the museum, introduced them to interesting books, made them suddenly feel they weren't lost in the crowd.

Members of the U.S. Office of Education's National Teacher Corps (NTC) sometimes serve as psychologists, social workers and even athletic directors, but every one thinks the project is worth it.

"Take the typical middle-class-kid." says 24-year-old Ronald P., shoving blue-tinted glasses back on his forehead. "He really doesn't need a special teaching effort. He's going to come out pretty strong anyhow. The people who need it are in the inner-city and rural areas. Sure, I'm idealistic. But this offers quite a bit of self-satisfaction. If you perform well, you get more than the ordinary teacher. The greater the goal, the greater the satisfaction if you accomplish it."

"NTC trainees do not invade the classrooms," explained one trainee, "but basically do the things a teacher can't do because she is in a classroom. This includes establishing contact with parents, the community."

It also means "getting close to kids," another one pointed out. "It's a lot easier for us than for a teacher to develop some type of rapport with these students."

It's easier, but it's also harder. Trainees don't know the meaning of a 9 to 3 day. The team at one school, for instance, in addition to setting up tutorial programs in ten subjects, also runs an occupational and career guidance center and a scholarship and financial aid center.

They've visited homes to investigate students who haven't returned to school, assisted with the registration of children, encouraged adults' participation in a parent-teacher organization and developed a community survey to provide information to the school for use of all staff members.

An experimental classroom is in operation in the morning and has about 42 junior high students getting instruction in math, English and social studies from NTC interns.

At still another school, an after-school homework help center has been established. This tutoring center operates during school hours and on Saturday mornings.

Sometimes all NTC people do is just talk to a student who has problems. At other times, they may set things in motion like the massive careers day at one school where representatives from various industries provided youngsters with first-hand information about careers and career demands.

As in the Career Guidance project, the aim is motivation. What makes NTC different is the people. These are young people still fresh with hope and willing to work a lot of overtime. Initially, NTC teams were assigned to four schools: Northern High, Spain Junior High, the Kennedy Annex and the Duffield. A recent grant authorized four more teams, giving Detroit a total of 34 teachers in the past two years under the Title V program.

But are they really teachers? The NTC team leader is an experienced teacher, usually with a master's degree, who supervises three or four corpsmen who are called teaching interns. These interns, however, all have backgrounds in the liberal arts. At the end of two years of school service and study at Wayne State University, they receive master's degrees and are certificated as teachers. Thus, the program may encourage universities to broaden their teacher preparation programs.

"We get to work with children directly," one pointed out. "We are immediately involved when we go into schools."

The enemy is a feeling: *hopelessness.*

"Motivation has to be developed, and it's the responsibility of the educational system to develop it," said Mrs. Constance Cooper, former team leader at Northern High School.

The scene of a massive student walkout when students protested the low level of academic offerings, a lack of school activities and scholarship information, Northern presented a particularly stiff challenge to its NTC team. The most pressing problem was a vacuum in knowledge — not only about careers but about youngsters' own school and community.

To create a greater awareness among youngsters of the opportunities available in the world of work, trainees take them to places of business and arrange for them to spend time in these businesses. Small groups of students also get to meet persons working in occupations in which they have an interest. Students interested in careers in science and medicine, for instance, spend two full days a week in a hospital, learning about the varied careers in medicine.

Besides stressing job preparedness, Mrs. Cooper said they were trying very hard to reach students who do have college potential, but have somehow been overlooked. "This happens to too many students. We are trying to fill this void with extra time and effort."

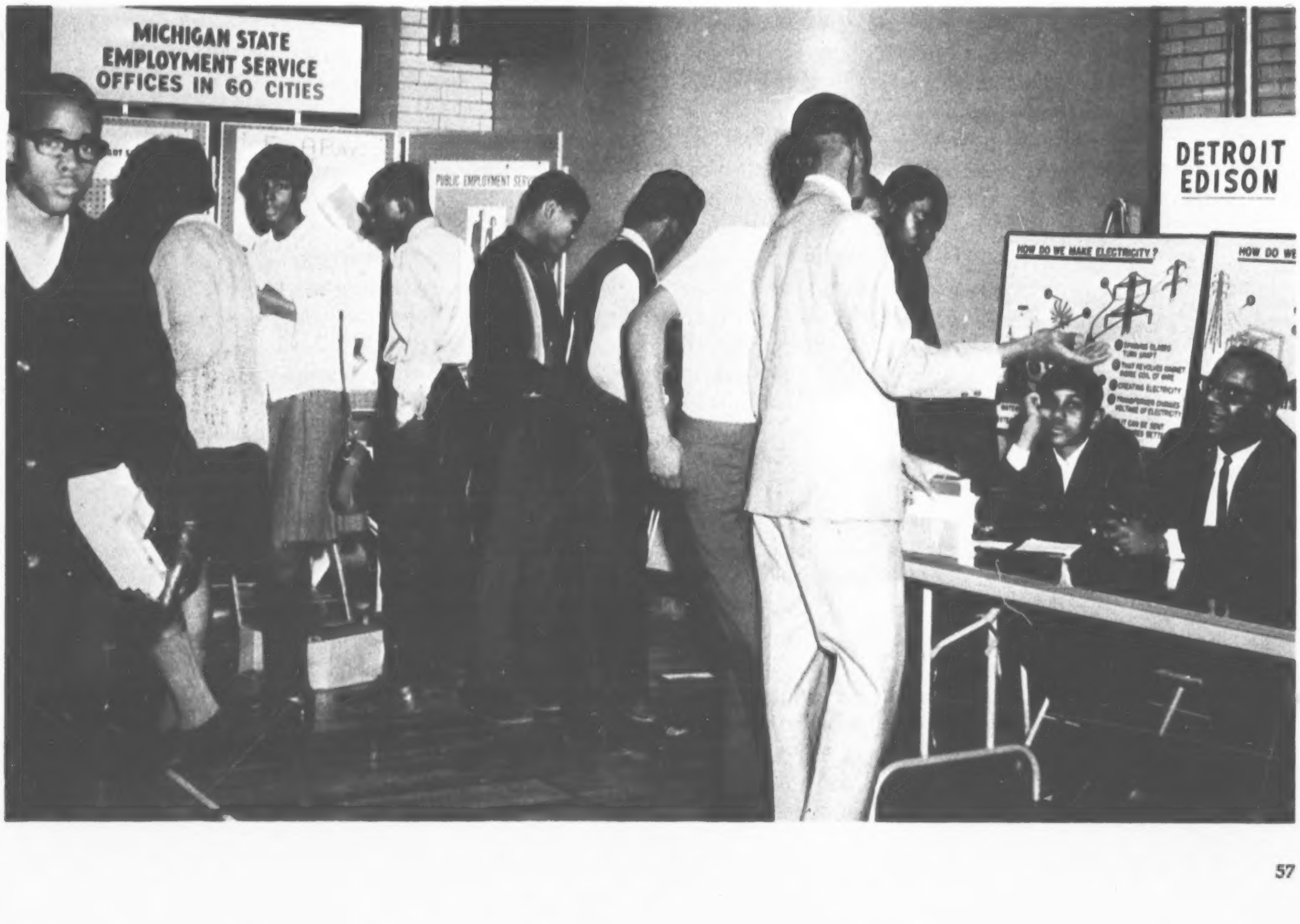
"On the other hand, all these students don't feel college is the answer," she continued. "There are many opportunities available now that the community doesn't know about. Parents can't convey these things. So we work with those who can't go to college so they can find places for themselves."

One NTC trainee, for example, recently arranged for a student to take an examination for a Chrysler apprenticeship, and the student passed it.

To further fill the information gap, NTC publishes a weekly scholarship and career opportunities newsletter. It is distributed to all students and contains information about full and part-time jobs, summer jobs, scholarships and financial aids, apprenticeship programs, technical and professional schools, application and examination deadlines.

At the career guidance center, interns assist students in completing applications, selecting colleges and schools, selecting careers for the future and they advise them on sources of financial aid.

"We are losing too many youngsters because we are not helping them to achieve everything they are capable of achieving," believes Mrs. Cooper. "They need more guidance and counseling to make up for what they do not get as a natural part of their environment."



'Free At Last'

She could feel trouble coming, feel it deep within her.

Trouble was the fact that her high school didn't have a swimming pool or a driver training range. It was the way her neighborhood had started going down. It was the fact that "there is an inner city and always will be."

Her name was Arezell and about the best thing that ever happened to her was getting into Upward Bound, an Office of Economic Opportunity program to interest underprivileged teen-agers in going on to college. For two summers she has lived at Mercy College in a white suburban neighborhood, taking special courses, receiving tutoring and counseling and attending plays and concerts. She was at Mercy when the riot broke out in her city, Detroit.

"My sisters called and said they could see flames going up all over, and the air was full of smoke," Arezell wrote in an article which appeared in *Seventeen* magazine.

"They said lots of neighbors came by carrying food, TV's, air conditioners, clothes, shoes, anything they could get their hands on. I don't think they looted for racial reasons or even just to grab all the things they didn't have. I think it was a kind of revenge — most of the stores that were looted were owned by whites and Negroes who had been over-charging for years."

In the article Arezell talks about her school, Murray, and about some of her teachers who she says "don't know how to treat us." She writes: "I suppose they feel that since we're underprivileged they have to be sympathetic, so they don't give us the work they should. I'm lucky to be in honors classes — most of the students in regular classes don't even think about college; they just want to get their high school diplomas and a job in a factory. The teachers don't inspire them to want more.

"The better teachers all seem to be in suburban schools. Why should they want to work with Negroes or poor whites in my neighborhood when they know that in rich suburbs like Grosse Pointe students will read their lessons and know what's happening? In my school, a teacher who asks a question can barely get an answer — kids who go around with comic books in their hands all the time don't come up against too many interesting ideas. But it's not easy to get a good reading foundation in the inner city elementary schools, so you can't really blame them."

Being in Upward Bound, for Arezell, is like being in another world.

"Our Upward Bound counselors," she wrote wistfully, "know a lot more about getting financial aid for college than the counselors at school seem to. I'm pretty confident of getting a loan or scholarship, which is nice because I haven't been able to save any money for college."

Arezell, who is 16, probably will go on to college and do well there. She is among the 200 high school sophomores and juniors who annually participate in the eight-week summer program which began in 1966. The program is based mainly on the sprawling campus of Wayne State University in the heart of Detroit's inner city. Other colleges, however, cooperate with the program, including Mercy, which houses some girls who then attend classes at Wayne. This summer the University of Detroit was slated to house some of the boys in the program.

A $259,808 grant in the spring of 1968 allowed the program to continue on campus for a third year. The grant also initiated follow-up studies of Upward Bound's two previous graduating classes of students who began their freshman years of college in the fall of 1967.

Of last year's 130 students now enrolled in Upward Bound, according to WSU's project director, Delbert Hopkins, 80 are graduating from their respective high schools this June. Of these, 95 percent are entering college this fall. The 95 percent contrasts dramatically with the 10 percent to 20 percent of graduating seniors normally going to college from the schools these students represent.

Newly graduated students will be given approximately 20 hours per week of preparatory summer school courses at the college level in natural science and English by the university faculty. A total of 180 students will be working in the program this summer under WSU's direction. About 95 percent of Upward Bound students come from inner city schools, the remainder from various areas in Wayne County.

Hopkins sees a marked change of attitude among students exposed to the extra hours of tutorial service provided by the project. Along with the novelty of living in dormitories, youngsters in the program also get heavy doses of English, speed reading and other communication skills. Twice a week, they go to an Upward Bound study center for counseling, library study or tutoring, and through the year they take trips and go to plays and concerts and ballets.

They are young people who have the potential for doing college work, but do not necessarily show it in their classrooms. They usually are also very poor youngsters whose parents couldn't send them to college even if they thought about going.

Most hadn't thought about it. Now they are.

Arezell's mind is clicking 10,000 seconds a minute — racing, clicking, ticking — tumbling and leaping, as she tries to plot her future in the world:

"I want to get away from here at least for my first two years of college, and I'd like to spend a year at a European school if possible because I think I'd be freer there. Here, if you're a certain color, people put you in a special category."

Why Should I Get A Diploma?

Their teacher let them talk to her. Once started, they didn't want to stop.

They weren't really youngsters anymore, they were men: men combed from the streets of big cities; men used to a lot of roaming, a little mingling and often hard hustling.

They were not used to staying inside a building, following set rules or studying books.

But their teacher let them talk, and that helped.

Her name was Dorothy Leace. She was one of six Detroit school staffers spending 13 months at the Jersey City Job Corps Conservation Center in 1966-67.

They called it Project Interchange. It was a cooperative program developed by the National Education Association and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Under it, staffers from four school systems, including Detroit, worked at Job Corps Centers, then returned to their school systems to do special, intensive work.

At the Jersey Center, a senior counselor, counselor, head teacher, two academic instructors and a vocational teacher from Detroit worked with the 16- to 21-year-old dropouts. Though the Jersey Center was geared to upkeep of the surrounding forest areas it was near the city and urban in student body. Most of its enrollees tested higher in reading than at other centers: none fell below the third grade, fifth month, and a few read at college level.

One of the goals of Interchange personnel was getting to know students as well as possible. Counselors were in their offices all day long and were the first to talk to students in large groups; they issued clothing and generally oriented enrollees toward the Center. The counseling program was especially geared to helping youngsters develop positive attitudes toward work. And forestry work was considered an important adjunct to this counseling.

Reading and math teachers administered diagnostic tests to determine the academic levels of their charges. Enrollees then were given uniform programmed materials which they could absorb at their own pace. About May, Corps classes, never numbering more than 15, were reorganized and youngsters grouped by grade level.

But Mrs. Leace points out: "Our teaching was not regular teaching; it couldn't be."

There were more than 100 Corpsmen at the Center. They came in highly motivated by their failure to make a good living, but did not often stay that way.

"It was most frustrating to watch them come in way up there, then become apathetic, lethargic. They had been taken from rather loose homes, from lives where they could walk the streets, to a semi-military type of life. And these were men."

To contribute to an atmosphere of greater freedom among the Corpsmen, attempts were made to set up a student council. Corpsmen frequently were permitted to return home. But when they returned, sometimes they brought back alcohol or marijuana to help make the days bearable. And when they talked — and sometimes, in Mrs. Leace's class, they would do that for a major part of the day — it often was the teacher who learned.

"They told me about their lives; they told me about conditions that were truly incredible. It was a new experience for some of them to have a teacher listen and not interrupt, even if they let loose a few hells or damns. They talked about revolution, and although I didn't participate, I allowed them to discuss it. I developed a great respect for them because I came to understand them."

Understanding did not always mean helping in any measurable way. For some, Job Corps was too little, too late — a promise that really could not be fulfilled.

It could never be fulfilled for Richard, a moody boy with emotional disturbances that kept him both tied to and running from his mother. When Richard had taken tranquilizers, his spirit was easy, his manner light; but without them his hostility was a naked mask no one could penetrate.

He was in the first group of five young men assigned to Mrs. Leace for orientation and for her reading class. It wasn't long before he was AWOL: his mother was ailing and he could not stay away. Mrs. Leace talked to Richard that day and again that night, urging him to carry out his mother's wishes and return to the Center. Eventually, he did, but his adjustment never improved — alcohol instead of tranquilizers, became his crutch. Just after his mother died, Richard was expelled from the Center.

"He would respond well if you talked to him 15 or 20 minutes. This gave him enough to go on through the day. But I couldn't go into his dormitory and talk to him at night. And this is what he needed."

But if Richard was a bud that never blossomed, Zack was crabgrass, growing wild. At 18, he was a relatively advanced Job Corps enrollee who could read at the ninth grade level; at 18, he also was an ex-Muslim and an ex-member of the Five Percenters, a notorious Harlem gang which considers itself more militant than even the Muslims; at 18, he seemed to be at the end of the line.

"He hated white people with a vengeance," Mrs. Leace remembered. "He said they were all out to get him and the rest of 'us.' Once when I told him I had a white friend, he went almost into a rage: he said she'd turn on me one day."

Zack could tell stories. But they were bitter stories. Stories about beating up white youngsters on Coney Island because 'we have to get them before they get us.'

Yet he was not, project officials felt, violent at heart. Nor was he totally without hope. Zack's aim was to get into the Corps' special program for youngsters advanced in reading and math, who showed good citizenship and were interested in preparing for the G.E.D. (Graduation Equivalency Diploma) and ultimately college.

Zack's math was not strong enough to open this door, however, and his outlook on life never really improved. "Almost everything was clouded by his attitude."

Working with boys like Zack and Richard, a teacher became alert to the small breakthroughs and insights — the Center, in a sense, was a laboratory. Faculty members from Jersey City State Teachers College began bringing their classes there. College students in reading classes came out twice a week and tutored Corpsmen. They called it Interchange.

With the return home of the Detroit staff, their mission became Project Diploma. A variety of problems hampered it in the beginning. Staff, in effect, had to design their own project since none awaited them. And some dissension among staff already had developed at the Center between those who followed a more rigid and those with a more flexible approach.

Nevertheless, the Interchange team became a team at Northern High under Larry Cook, and the heavy emphasis on counseling continued. Originally, Diploma people were available to students after school, but they soon shifted to working with small groups during the school day. Forty 10th graders, all low-achievers and all aged 16 — dropout age — were the targets.

The over all objective was to provide the kind of remedial instruction in reading, mathematics and social studies that is needed by pupils who have a history of failure in academic courses, as well as to provide in-depth counseling of both parents and youngsters.

In the first interim report for Project Diploma in the fall of 1967, it was noted that two staff members were conducting classroom/study-hall sessions, while the remaining staff served as counselors and project coordinator.

"In addition to doing some individualized academic tutoring, the counselors spend a lot of time in conference counseling and group counseling. The main theme of the counseling is the advantages of obtaining the high school diploma in relationship to the jobs available," Cook said.

Each student has been given achievement tests in reading, arithmetic and social studies, and the scores evaluated to enable staff to determine the areas where students most need remedial help. In cooperation with the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Northern's In-School Youth Work program, plans also were being developed to combine some work training skills with the program so that students in it at least two periods a day could be paid a minimum of about $10 a week.

These students were to work as teacher aides, counselor aides, clerical assistants and research assistants. Tasks would include checking exam papers, aiding counselors, printing announcements, making parent contacts and keeping record books. However, due to a cutback, only nine youngsters were on the payroll in April, 1968.

Among the techniques being used in Project Diploma are taped conferences and guidance filmstrips to stimulate group discussions. Youngsters practice filling out application forms and writing letters of application or inquiry. They receive information and tips about job interviews, and their abilities and aptitudes are measured on standardized tests.

Among the project people is Dan White, who calls himself a counselor-tutor. White works with ten students for two periods weekly. "It's counseling in depth, but more informal," he explains. "We also try to give them the educational skills so they can pass their subjects and stay in school." Oral reading is one of the activities White stresses, along with filling out applications and writing business letters. Continuing the spirit of Interchange, teachers from the inner-city and teachers of disadvantaged youth were being urged to visit the project.

Director Cook summed up the aim: "Through observations of extensive uses of audiovisual aids and equipment, small classes in operation, individualized instruction and involvement of parents, we hope that teachers will be inspired to try new techniques in working with underachievers."

So What's A Camp?

Mollie B. skinned into her first pair of new blue jeans that morning. She had been up since the sky cleared, waiting for full day. Seven o'clock, she was standing in line for the bus, the bus that would take her to camp, when she felt the toe of a kid's shoe biting into her leg: maybe going to camp wasn't such a great idea after all.

Mollie was wet-eyed and sniffly-nosed her first three days at Green Pastures: she missed her cat; she was afraid of the lake; she was shy of the camp mascot, a pet llama.

But on the fourth day, Millie started smiling. She had caught on to the technique of making belts from multicolored plastic strips. She was no longer afraid the puddles of mud that dotted the landscape were quicksand. And she had felt a surge of relief when a counselor who accidentally brushed against poison ivy didn't fall into a faint, but instead calmly doctored himself.

She became alive to her surroundings during overnight hikes when they pitched tents; she began to notice the different shapes of trees and of ponds and of people, too, when they were outside a classroom or away from a city street. She didn't cry again until it was time to leave Green Pastures.

Camps affect youngsters in a variety of ways, notes Robert Luby, director of health and physical education. When youngsters from different backgrounds come in contact with each other, a process of learning and exchange takes place. City youngsters, also, are motivated by a chance to excel in camp activities.

The case of James, a small quiet boy, was typical. Uncorrected, his table manners were poor, but with the help of his cabin counselor he learned such basic things as sitting up at the table and chewing with his mouth closed.

James considered his cabin counselor pretty cool; he did things differently from the female teachers James was used to: he had a swift, manly stride, and a good singing voice. And it turned out that James, who had never been outstanding at anything, had a good singing voice, too. It made camp worthwhile.

So what's a camp? In the Detroit Public Schools, the Green Pastures and the Dr. Burt R. Shurly camps provide camping and outdoor education experiences for white and Negro underprivileged inner-city children.

The eight-week Green Pastures handles 120 children at a time who stay at camp for a period of two weeks. The 10-week Shurly camp accommodates 230 campers for two-week periods. Twelve children are assigned to each cabin. They go hiking, swimming, boating, practice camp craft, nature study, athletics and drama.

Most of them enjoy it.

Part 3

A Chance To Talk It Out

Ray E. is a young teacher who cannot find the words to talk to his students: he looks into their eyes, eyes that are all colors of moods, and nothing his lips shape has the feel of truth.

Beryl is a boy, and he has trouble with words, too: when they are strung together into sentences and paragraphs he loses his way, founders, sinks.

Attending one of the six Communication Skills Centers, which offer intensive remedial reading, would help Beryl.

But Project FAST (Federal Assistance for Staff Training) is the place for a teacher who wants to improve his ability to communicate with "hard to reach" kids.

The Communication Skills Centers were set up to aid youngsters in grades three through twelve who have trouble learning to read. They also provide psychological, medical and counseling services for pupils; try to help parents understand the learning problems of their children and work with schools to strengthen their reading programs.

Youngsters receive individualized instruction in small classes of 6 to 10 students at the centers which service roughly 1,000 students. Test data has shown that elementary school enrollees at one unit achieved an average improvement of three school months on both a word meaning test and paragraph meaning test during their first two months in the program. Junior high school students showed a mean gain of four school months in the paragraph meaning test during their first two months. Senior high students at one unit showed growth of nearly a full year on the paragraph meaning test during three months of enrollment.

The achievements of Project FAST, however, are not so easy to measure. Primarily through the local workshop, this project has attempted to spark insights and attitude changes in teachers and principals. Beginning under Title I in 1965-66, the in-service education program specifically was set up to subsidize projects to improve the instructional program, projects in staff development, projects to explore the attitudes of teachers and principals and local school projects.

The emphasis during the project's first two years was on the local school workshop, according to Dr. Charles Stewart, director. Typically, this was a two-day workshop with a consultant expert in some aspect of education. Participants would take a look at their programs and needs and take stock of what they were doing with them and how they were involving the community.

Another focal point during the project's inception was the development of materials for in-service education and also for youngsters. More than 150 schools held local workshops during the program's first year, but in the second year the number decreased.

"In many workshops," Dr. Stewart said, "the biggest achievement was facilitating the efforts of a principal who wanted to make a start toward assuming more responsibility for in-service education at the local level. We even developed a directory of consultants in response to their need."

When eight or ten people, including the principal, got together for 10 or 12 sessions where they zeroed in on problems, workshops had a real impact on schools.

The workshops have dealt with topics ranging from specific areas of the curriculum to Negro history and heritage. New instructional approaches were demonstrated and new instructional materials produced. Mischa Mischakoff, concertmaster of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, helped music teachers perfect their techniques through a "stringed instrument workshop."

Data processing techniques were demonstrated in business education workshops, along with instructional tapes for use in new shorthand and typewriting electronic laboratories.

Among the most popular programs were the summer internships for teachers in business or industry—considered a form of "cultural exposure" for teachers. The junior high school teacher who had trouble communicating with his lower-income pupils became a summer intern and was paired with a social worker, who works with youth gangs.

In another more typical case, a young journalism advisor spent six weeks on the copy desk of a weekly community newspaper. Summer interns also have been placed in police departments and government agencies. The main emphasis within the in-service training program now, however, is on providing planning and funds for schools ready, in Dr. Stewart's words, "to swing into action."

"If a school has decided it wants to try out team teaching in the lower elementary grades," he explained, "now it can actually test out team teaching or develop Negro history materials or whatever project it wants to test. We want schools to get into problems in depth."

Part 4

What Happened Was I Got Pregnant

Sandy is 15, pregnant and afraid. Steered by her high school principal into the Detroit Public Schools' Continuing Education for Girls program, she still knows moments of dark despair. Recently, a poem she wrote entitled "Waiting for My Baby" was published in the experience column of a local newspaper. "Lord I wonder in vain," it begins, "when the baby comes will it hurt or will I be in pain. I wonder what he is doing in there . . ."

Despite the many problems she has to face, Sandy is very lucky and knows it: most school systems expel pregnant girls as soon as the condition is discovered. In Detroit, 110 girls at a time can be cared for in CEG where they can continue their schooling, begin pre-natal care, get professional counseling from a social worker, receive child care and sex education, and have their parents involved in preparing for the child.

At its peak in the fall of 1966, CEG was able to assist 150 girls in three centers. In the fall of 1967, however, it became one of the programs cut back to allow more federal funds to be directed toward reducing class size. Waves of protest poured in from community organizations following the announcement the program was going to be cut. It is the only program of its scope and kind in the country.

"We created a model and people from all over have been in to see it work," explained Dr. Monacel. "But there was never any possibility of serving all the girls who could be eligible — the number has been estimated at between 1,000 and 2,000."

What makes CEG such a model? For one thing, until the cutback, CEG aggressively sought out the unwed father to help him with his problems, which often were as serious as those affecting the girl.

"Our client is the pregnant girl," said Mrs. Nancy Boykin, director, "But unless we reach out to the forces that surround this girl, we will not have reached the girl."

Continuing a girl's education is a special problem among low-income families — particularly Negro families. Almost always, the unwed Negro mother keeps her baby because of the difficulty in finding adoptive parents, and also because her family and her friends may attach even more stigma to giving an illegitimate child away than having one.

Such a girl then faces the problem of finding day care for her baby if she wants to continue school. But no one forces her to return to school, even if she is under 16. CEG aims at this girl under 16 and also the one close to graduation.

A girl who comes to CEG sees a doctor before she's accepted, which starts her on pre-natal care early, and lessens the chances of her having a complicated pregnancy. What happens after that depends largely on the response of the girl and her parents. This will depend upon their individual case histories.

Sandy, early in high school, had gotten caught up in a fast-moving crowd of kids who all would skip school the same day and go downtown together or to somebody's house. Often, Sandy says, it was her own house. Her mother was working days then, and there was no grown-up to bother them.

But the old gang began to break up.

"I was looking for something new to get into."

So she started running with an older crowd, and she got involved with a married man she heard was about 40. "But he was young-looking," she said, "like he might be in his late 20's." Meanwhile, her grades had slipped and she was so far behind in school that she lost interest in trying to catch up.

When she discovered she was pregnant, Sandy told herself the baby's father would get a divorce and marry her. But he didn't.

The support of Sandy's mother at this point was crucial. Without it, she might have been a drop-out and eventually a welfare statistic. But her mother had heard of CEG and urged Sandy to enroll. She was in the first class when CEG opened its doors the spring of 1966. At ease with other girls in the same condition, she attended classes from 9 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., which included the usual studies, such as English and history, and some very important extras. She had the benefit of continued counseling with a social worker. Nurses connected with the program held once-a-week classes that included child care and sex information. Sandy also had a chance to learn some homemaking.

Sandy's baby was born four months later. Continuing in the program, Sandy would pick up assignments at the center and finish them at home. When the baby was two months old, Sandy went back in regular classes at a different high school. She plans to start college soon and hopes to be a teacher or guidance counselor.

Today, she speaks of herself in an entirely different way than she did two years ago: "I saw marriage as an escape. I was building up a fantasy. I was trying to find an easy way out."

Barbara may not be quite so lucky. She is only 14, has almost no body and used to make A's and B's in school. She is going to have a baby soon, and she believes she is in love.

Barbara's mother died when she was ten. Her father deserted. Barbara lives with her grandparents, but she is not close to them — she misses her father, aches and yearns for him. She felt all alone until she found Harry. Then she was too naive to even understand what was happening to her.

"What happened was I got pregnant," she tells you in a small child's voice. "Now I'm in love."

CEG's director Mrs. Boykin explained that the death of one or two parents early in life often has a shattering effect on young girls. "It is a traumatic thing; it deprives them of emotional security. Girls reach out to a love object. In their teens the adolescent boy is the love object where earlier it might have been a parent substitute."

Usually with the younger girls the relationship leading to pregnancy was "a bit casual," Mrs. Boykin continued, "maybe a one-time experiment." Among the older girls, and the more intense girls, the relationship "appears to them to be a love affair."

Almost 99 percent keep their babies, which Mrs. Boykin feels is very bad. "Often the girls are psychologically the most healthy person in the family. The others may need help. So the girls are bringing babies into sick homes."

During parent-group sessions, CEG's social workers try to help bring to the surface and heal some of the conflicts between parents and their children which have caused their communication to break down.

"These parents are concerned," said Mrs. Boykin. "But some are so overwhelmed by their own problems they can't mobilize themselves to get involved."

CEG concentrates on the large number of pregnant 14-year-old girls who are apt, at that age, to become repeaters by the time they are 16. "They are impulsive and don't think about the consequences. They haven't learned to control anything," said Mrs. Boykin.

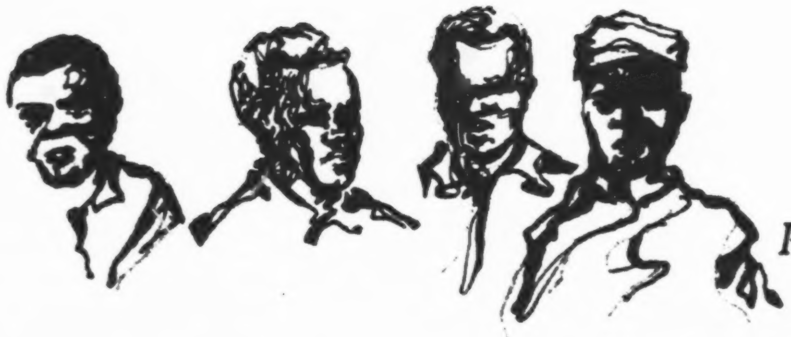
The next group CEG is most anxious to reach are the seniors who could complete high school with a little help. The 110 girls accepted at one time stay in the program on an average of nine months. They are usually about four months pregnant before they come to CEG. They include girls from varied situations and with various capabilities, Mrs. Boykin emphasized, pointing to the fact that one enrollee was a genius.

CEG classrooms include a bathinette for learning to bathe a baby, a library, a stove for learning to prepare meals, mirrors to use in good grooming sessions, a sewing machine for learning to make maternity clothes. Girls receive academic instruction in non-graded classes to help them continue their education and are referred to available job training programs when they do not choose to return to school.

A social worker counsels each family individually, spending extra time with families where problems are critical. CEG also holds sessions with groups of parents every second week. One mother who kept complaining that her daughter was rebellious got new insight when another mother remarked that she should quit pushing the girl and finding fault with her.

"Trying to raise adolescents is rugged, even for the most enlightened family," said Mrs. Boykin. "And how much more difficult it is if the situation is compounded by poverty, bad housing, poor health and marital problems. Practically all the parents have aspirations for their daughters to complete school. They see their daughters' condition as a blocking of this aspiration."

CEG, she said, sees it as a problem calling for aid: "We are trying to meet the needs of these girls by intervening in the cycle of pregnancy — poverty — welfare."



Part 5

The Neglected

Hunched over a work bench, his hands fashion brooding figures in clay. He is a sculptor, a youthful one, and he is good. But psychologists who have studied his moods predict he will be an alcoholic by the time he is 30 — or a schizophrenic.

It is because he was neglected.

There are hundreds like him in childrens' institutions throughout the city: wards of the court, orphans, juvenile delinquents — the neglected. Often, these youngsters' physical needs are met, but inside they hunger for special attention, yearn for guidance. To get it, they become runaways, lonely, desperate statistics.

An eight-week federally-sponsored program in the summer of 1967 showed 615 of the neglected and delinquent the other side of what life has to offer. Very few ran from it. The institutions involved were Angelus Hall, Delta Home for Girls, Don Bosco Hall, Evangelical Home for Children and the Aged, Lutheran Home for Girls, St. Francis Home for Boys, St. Peters' Home for Boys, Todd Phillips Childrens' Home, Vista Maria Home for Girls and the Williams House.

Meadowbrook, Stratford and the Fisher theaters were high novelty; movies, horseback riding, swimming and canoeing sheer fun. Mackinac Island lured youngsters with lushness, Lansing and Ann Arbor with fine-sounding names.

The climax was a jet flight to Wisconsin for a hard-working group.

And that was not all. In each of the 10 participating institutions, youngsters received tutoring on a one-to-one basis, counseling, music lessons, physical education; and they were tested by psychologists.

Mobile teams of reading, mathematics, drama, physical education and recreation teachers journeyed to the various institutions to provide the services they had requested. According to project director Setaria Garland, institutions reported the incidence of runaways sharply decreased that summer.

"Children never had so much offered them. They never knew there was so much to do or see," she said. "They showed a different attitude about teachers and schools, since teachers actually were almost living with them. Counselors also were able to place some girls in various schools, including one in cosmetology."

Building on the success of the summer, a limited program was launched in the fall in nine institutions, excluding Vista Maria, which is outside the metropolitan Detroit area. The fall program focused on tutoring, counseling and psychological testing, though there were a few variations. At one boys' home, for instance, recreational activities using male leaders were being stressed to give the boys, surrounded by nuns, a stronger sense of masculinity.

The goal was to point these youngsters toward the world of work. Youngsters leaving an agency within the year were taken on trips to job-finding agencies to learn how to go about finding a job. Their aptitudes were tested and attempts were made to channel them into training or apprenticeship programs.

"Previously," Mrs. Garland said, "the usual pattern was for youngsters either to return to the same environment which caused them to become wards of the court or to luck into something. I am especially concerned for the girls, because they become very frustrated when it is time to leave."

Many boys enter the armed services on leaving childrens' institutions, but girls have no such escape route. Strongly desiring companionship and affection, they are prey for panderers and other criminals. Mrs. Garland would like to see a "midway house" established to house girls until they are able to be independent.

Younger boys, 13 or 14, also are a follow-up problem; they may stay in an institution for two years, then be released before they are old enough to work. They, too, then drift back into their old environments.

The basic problem with these youngsters, Mrs. Garland pointed out, is that they have so little self-pride. Most have had to accept the fact that their parents don't want them; that, literally, no one cares.

During the summer of 1967, runaways decreased from an average of 50 to 60 per institution to about 2, as youngsters basked in the attention of concerned adults.

How Much Is Two Times Two?

They are, perhaps, the most forgotten.

Usually poorly dressed, vague about time and traveling, lacking in friends or group memberships, and without hope for a better future, they often drift — or stumble — into delinquency and teenage pregnancy.

They are retarded youngsters from low-income families.

And until the establishment of the Special Education Vocational Rehabilitation (SEVR) Project in 1962, the Detroit school system could not really attempt to steer such youths toward productive lives.

SEVR was a pioneer effort. It united the school system, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Michigan Division of Vocational Rehabilitation in a work skills education and placement program for mildly retarded youths.

SEVR is headquartered in the former San Francesco Parish School, a 13-room, three-story brick building just a stone's throw away from an outdoor market and a housing project. It is an area of poverty, mobility, and, for the 15- to 20-year-old youths served by SEVR, bewilderment. Project officials quickly discovered that many had no conception of the city's shape and virtually had to be led about. Students also tended to tire or lose interest easily, often after a half hour's work.

To combat these problems, a special staff was assembled. They were personnel with backgrounds in working with the retarded and disadvantaged. Besides the administrative staff, this included a social group worker, placement agent, psychologist, speech correctionist, rehabilitation counselors and staff in charge of personal-social-academic skills, work skills and pre-vocational skills.

How does SEVR work? During the first four months of enrollment, the accent is on the personal and academic skills — reading, writing, speaking, computing and grooming. Most beginners range from non-readers to readers at the sixth grade level. In the second half of phase I, emphasis is on these skills, along with counseling, group sessions, sick care, speech correction, pre-vocational and psychological evaluation.

After a youngster has been in the program about nine months, he enters phase II. Here he receives concentrated pre-vocational evaluations and is placed on a series of initial job try-outs. He receives rehabilitation counseling, social group work, and speech correction.

In SEVR's final phase, youths attend occupational information sessions and receive actual on-the-job training. Rehabilitation counseling continues, and there is job placement and follow-up by the placement agent and rehabilitation counselors.

But how does SEVR succeed? A study made of youngsters in the first three months after they turned 17 and at 18 showed significant differences between SEVR enrollees and other retarded youngsters. A higher number of those in the experimental group were holding major jobs at both 17 and three months and at 18, indicating the impact of the program continues.

Motivation may be one key. Both parent and youth have to express a willingness to participate in the program before enrollment. Every four months 16 are enrolled, for an average stay of 16 months.

In all courses, practicality is stressed. In a reading class, for instance, youngsters are taught to read such signs as *stop* and *danger, mop, broom* and *clean*. They become familiar with magazines like *Life* and *Ebony*. And computational skills, too, are work oriented. Enrollees learn about social security and pensions, income taxes, cash registers, bank accounts and checks.

Grooming instruction is also direct and graphic: often filmstrips are shown, in addition to talks. Girls receive combs, curlers, hair spray, lotion and manicure kits; boys, shirts and slacks. Girls also are instructed in planning and preparing meals.

Work skills are developed in the SEVR workshop known as the San Francesco Manufacturing Company. This work area, which has a time clock and cards and a shipping and receiving department, accommodates 16 youngsters, mornings and afternoons. Sub-contracting work from business, industry and the Board of Education, it focuses on assembly, inspection, sorting, packaging, furniture refinishing, collating, wiring, grommeting, stapling, deburring, riveting, drilling and glueing.

Each enrollee's progress is appraised throughout this period. Pre-vocational evaluation covers such areas as the enrollee's color discrimination, time-telling ability, housekeeping, ironing, packaging. Youngsters, eventually, are able to become dish washers, bus boys, gas station attendants, babysitters, poultry dressers, dry-cleaner helpers, carwashers and shoe shine boys.

"Given time, professional attention and a realistic, skill-building program, most of these youths can be put on the road to economic and social self-sufficiency," declares Carl. L. Byerly, associate superintendent in charge of improvement of instruction.

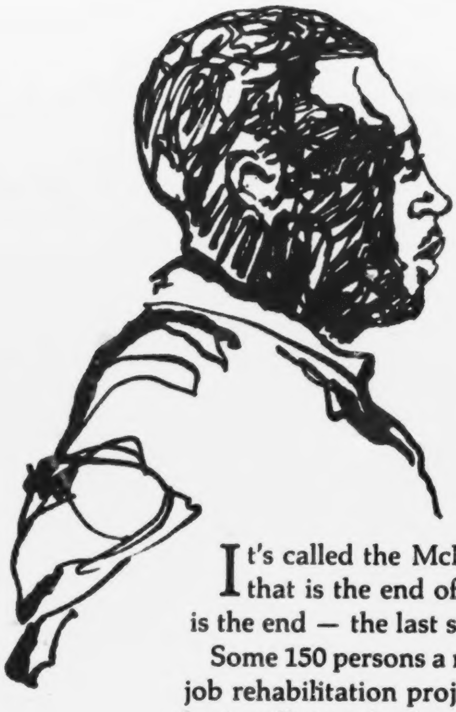
CHAPTER 4

"WE'RE TRAINING MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT WORKED FOR NEARLY TEN YEARS."—GEORGE McWATT, PRINCIPAL, McNAMARA SKILLS CENTER.

The Older Ones

Part 1

. . . Never Thought I'd Be Workin'



It's called the McNamara Skills Center. It sprawls over seven-and-a-half acres of land that is the end of the line for the bus bringing trainees there. For most of *them*, too, it is the end — the last stop before loss of hope.

Some 150 persons a month "graduate" from this Center. It is the largest and most successful job rehabilitation project in the country. It may also be the most trouble-prone, hampered by insufficient funds and often the target of community criticism. Yet 85 percent of its adult graduates do find jobs, leaving with skills allowing them at least to get their foot in the doorway of a trade. As their first paychecks and subsequent ones arrive, the names of their families disappear from the welfare rolls.

These are people who "never thought I'd be workin'," as one put it. Or they are people able to secure only the most marginal, low-paying jobs.

They are mostly like Mollie G.

Mrs. G. had been receiving aid to dependent children for the 10 years since her husband deserted his wife and six children. She hadn't been particularly sorry to see him go: over the years he had become a shell of a man, drained by a combination of increasing responsibility and repeated unemployment. But being on welfare was even more distressing to Mrs. G.

Sometimes her case worker made surprise visits in the evening, sniffing around pots, running fingers across furniture, looking for all the world as though she expected a man to bolt from the closet. Mrs. G., who usually had trouble heaving her bulk up to answer the door and was no longer young, almost could have laughed. Except she was too humiliated.

But Mrs. G. had only a ninth grade education and no skills other than a slight bent for cake decorating. Even if she could have found a job, it probably would not have paid her enough to allow the hiring of a babysitter or housekeeper. Mrs. G. had had years to be both defeated and discontented by her non-working status when her neighborhood minister recommended she try the Skills Center. Her discontent won out, and she is now one of the Center's success stories. After completing a food services course, she was employed by a major hotel. She is now helping her oldest daughter pay her college tuition.

And Mrs. G. has a neighbor, Mr. C., with an equally inspiring story. Throughout his enrollment in the Center's furniture upholstering program, he refurbished his friends' furniture in his home. When he finished his course, he secured a Small Business Administration loan and opened an upholstery business.

But a third trainee, who studied shoe repair, has the prize story. This trainee became friendly with the owner of the small shop where he was working. The owner offered to sell him the business. The trainee got an SBA loan, bought out the owner, and acquired modern equipment for the shop. Business soon increased to the point where the new owner was able to hire two Skills Center trainees as his assistants.

These are the kinds of incidents which make 1501 Beard Street not just a training, but a salvage center, where people try to fit the pieces of their shattered lives back together. Most trainees are heads of families, adults aged 22 to 60, who have been unemployed for long periods but who once worked. Usually they are anxious to get back into the economic mainstream. A greater challenge is the minority group of younger enrollees, 16 to 21, who may never have held a job. The atmosphere at the Skills Center has to be far different from that in a conventional school. Small gains may represent milestones.

"Remember," says George McWatt, principal, "we're training many people who have not worked for nearly 10 years and have been largely wards of one welfare agency or another. Some have poor eyesight, others poor hearing, some even need major surgery. They have to be trained in basic skills and many must be taught even to read. It would drive the traditional teacher out of his mind."

But there is little of traditional teaching at the Skills Center. The trainee is taught the necessity for getting to work on time, the use of automated equipment, how to fill out a job application form, where to go when the health examination reveals a physical problem, and how to work with other people.

The roughly 1,000 trainees on the two shifts each day learn at their own pace and according to their background and needs. Some complete their training course in 20 weeks, some in a year. But most do complete their training and benefit from what they have learned. Of the over 7,000 trainees who had graduated from the program by 1968, 85 percent of the adults and 60 percent of the youths had found employment. These are the highest success figures in the country.

McWatt feels that Detroit's job training program works better than that of any other city because there is more cooperation between agencies here. The Michigan Employment Security Commission, a state employment service, has counselors at the Center to guide trainees. MESC also has at least one counselor at each anti-poverty branch office searching for recruits.

Skills Center classes include everything from basic literacy to trades such as welding, auto body repair, general maintenance and tailoring. Currently, 20 trade skills are taught in five occupational fields — metal, automotive, service, clerical and commercial foods. Others are taught through satellite programs located elsewhere, such as in high schools. Youths receive a training allowance of $20 per week, adults $39 to $70 depending on the size of the family.

Meat cutting was a pilot program under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, with the first classes starting November 4, 1963. The course taught at Chadsey High School covers percentage meat cutting for the retail trade and portion cutting.

The basic education aspect of the MDTA program was instituted by an amendment to the original Act when it was recognized that most of the hard-core unemployed need remedial education and other special help in order to become job-holders. Established to meet this need, the Skills Center opened its doors in September 1964. At the peak of its training program in August 1965, it had an enrollment of 1,500 while operating 33 occupational day and evening programs. This was over 50 percent of the people being trained under MDTA programs in Michigan.

The typical trainee divided his day between occupational training and literacy upgrading. Upon reaching a predetermined level of achievement for his particular occupational area, he was moved up to an eight-hour occupational program. In this final stage, the trainee was trained by journeymen in his field. Medical and dental examinations are a part of Skills Center services.

Officials quickly learned the necessity for flexibility. Courses started up and had to end, depending on the industry demand. A popular course, flower arranging, was cut off when that job market became glutted.

"We also dropped sales personnel," McWatt added, "because employers would take our people for short sales campaigns and then lay them off. We wanted permanent jobs."

It soon was found necessary to institute a special personal skills department devoted to the improvement of trainees' ability to find and keep jobs. "A lot of people will say they teach personal skills," McWatt said. "But we actually zero in on them through this department. We have people hired to work on the problems of poor attitude and lack of knowledge of where to go to solve problems. We also bring in outside speakers." Representatives of such diverse groups as Alcoholics Anonymous and local banks have addressed trainees.

A Skills Center-owned bus has enabled many trainees to broaden their horizons through trips to the art museum and other sites. Trainees also got a chance to sharpen their skills by overhauling, bumping, and painting the bus.

Since 1964, the Skills Center has gained an international reputation. It has had 7,000 visitors from all over the world and its successes have been highly publicized in the news media. The Center was slated to gain even more attention during the early weeks of 1968 when 600 persons were being registered for a new multi-program combining its

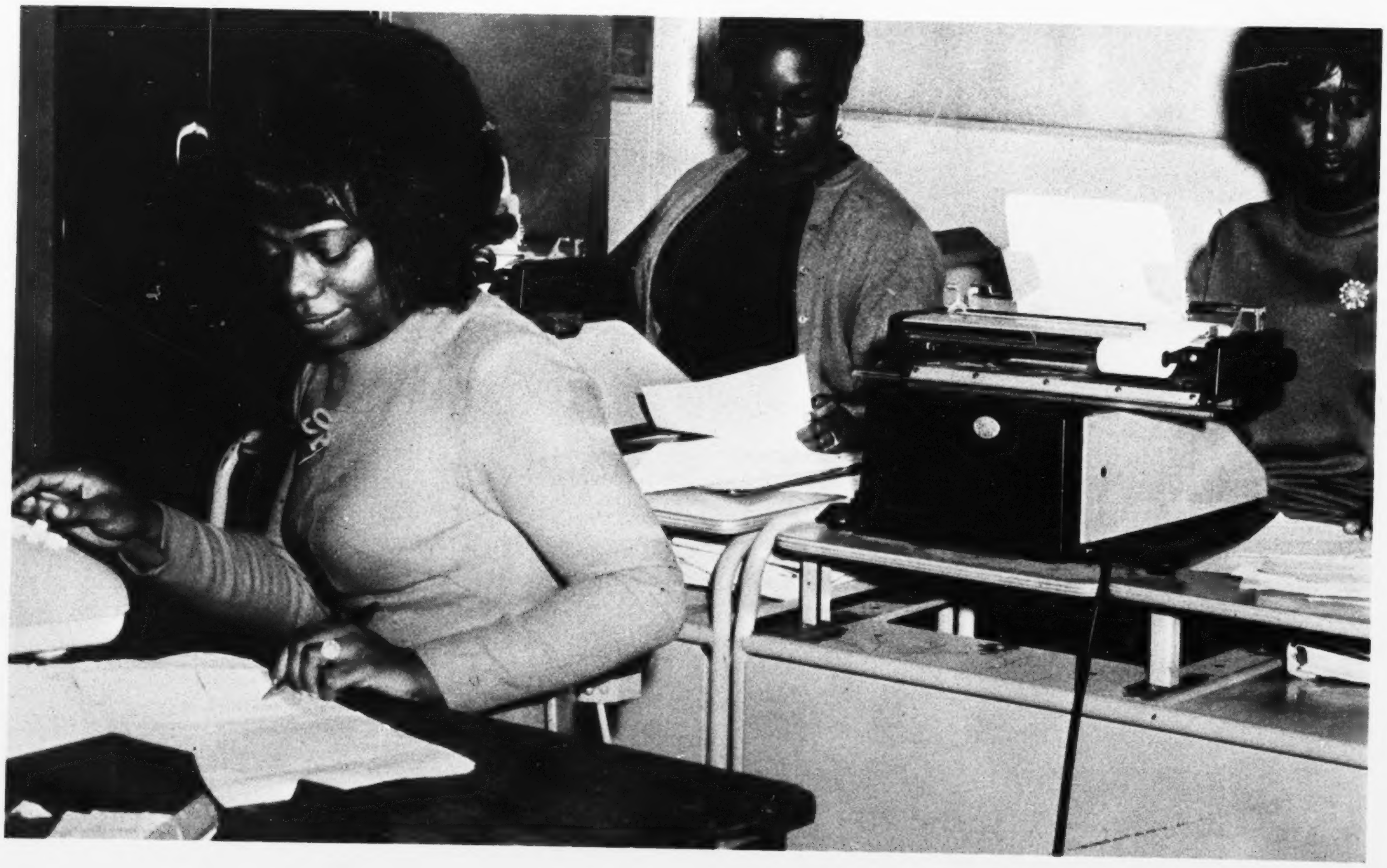
basic education with occupational training. The percentage of young people at the Center also was being increased through this program.

"When we started out, the theory was that you show a person how to start a machine," McWatt said. "But we have found out that these people need more than just skills."

Yet despite its achievements and hopes for the future, the Skills Center has not had ideal conditions, either from the standpoint of sections of the Detroit community or in the view of its own personnel. A few trainees conducted a demonstration at the Center several years ago. They charged the training they were receiving was superficial and obsolete, preparing them only for jobs that will soon disappear. A segment of Negro leadership has echoed this criticism of the Center, where 92 percent of enrollees are Negroes.

But McWatt insists: "We never start a course if there is no need for the occupation. Working below capacity or in a trade about to become obsolete is, in fact, a requirement for entry to the Center." He also stresses that the program is not geared to turning out a finished product. "We take them to the entry level. We nudge them into a job through what we call the vestibule. Most of our graduates get four to 10 weeks of on-the-job training at some non-profit organization or business as part of the course. Then the state employment service places them."

Counseling to pinpoint their specific problems is given the 15 percent of Center graduates who fail to find employment and become "repeaters." Officials admit there are deficiencies in the program. Among them is the fact this Center's 250,000 feet of floor space has never been used to full capacity. McWatt believes at least 2,600 trainees



could be handled on two shifts. However, the largest number ever enrolled at one time was 1,500. "The reason is not because we can't find trainees, but because we don't have enough money," he said.

MESC director Malcolm Lovell asserts, "We could use twice as much money. But we also could use some flexibility in the use of the money we do have and thus obtain better results."

Lovell brought out that the federal government earmarks money for certain training programs and local governments are not allowed to deviate from this preset course.

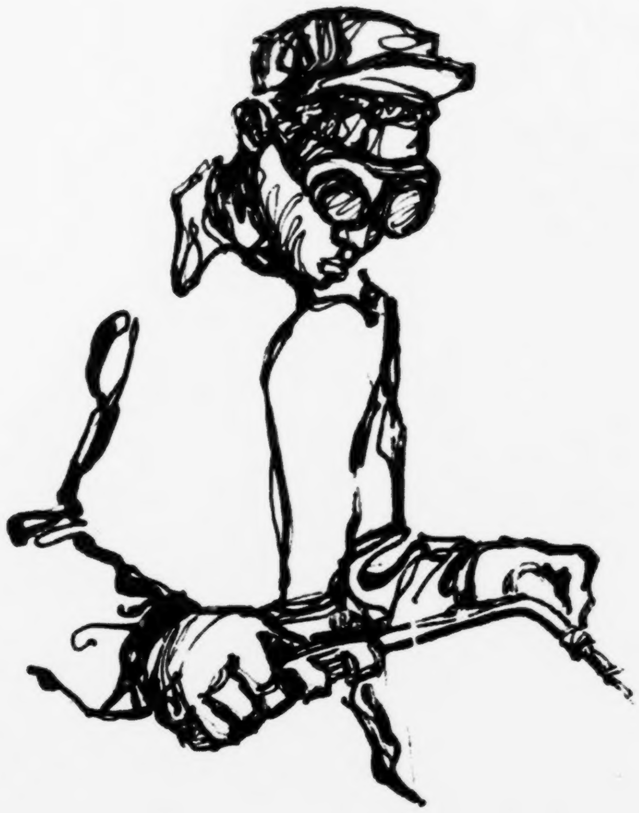
Eugene Bower, occupational training supervisor at the Center, said this inflexibility has made it necessary for some popular programs to be curtailed though the skills are in demand by industry. "We have $350,000 worth of automatic screw machinery in our plant, but it is operating nearly 70 percent below capacity because of the lack of money," he said.

McWatt feels, however, that the best testimonials to the fact the Skills Center is doing a job appreciated by the general Negro community come from the trainees themselves, trainees for whom the gaining of dignity and self-respect was just as important as obtaining job skills.

Richard H., for instance, is a 22-year-old high school drop-out, who was a "problem child" until he came to the Center. "I gave everybody a hard time," he says smiling. Those who worked with Richard say that at first he was belligerent, got into scrapes and couldn't get along with his instructors. But after each incident he would apologize and promise to try and control his temper.

After Richard had been in a machine operators' class for a few months, where he failed to make much progress, he was transferred to a welding class. "I was afraid of the sparks at first," he says, "and didn't like welding. But after awhile I got used to it, and then I began to be pretty good at it."

When Richard went on an eight-hour occupational night program, his attitude improved considerably. He could see that he was making progress. And it wasn't long before he was placed at Ford's Rouge plant as a welder. Now making $25 to $30 a day, Richard feels it was worthwhile coming to the Skills Center. More importantly, he feels *he* is worthwhile.



Part 2

. . . Or Readin'

Ralph S., whose shoulders started to slope a week after he began teaching, arrives home from work at around 4 p.m. By 5, he has shovelled down his dinner and burrowed into a newspaper. At 6, he gets a call from one of his students.

The student says he is thinking about buying a television set and wonders how he should go about it. Ralph advises him to try the "90 days same as cash" rather than a regular installment plan to cut down on the interest rate. Then Ralph returns to his newspaper.

He's used to his students calling him at home. Even though they're 30, 40 and 50 years old, they often need advice and counsel. And Ralph gives it. That's the way Project READ (Remedial Education for Adults) works.

Ray Ferrier, director of the free adult literacy program, feels READ teachers must teach literacy for "daily living" rather than the frequently remote world of books. Ferrier is more concerned that these students become aware of their rights and are better able to rear their children and perform their jobs than that they begin to keep abreast of best seller lists. And the typical READ enrollee justifies this emphasis.

Despite the many agencies engaged in recruiting him, he is likely to have heard of the program from a friend or relative. He may never have attended school at all or only completed the elementary grades. And he has migrated to Detroit from one of the Southern states, where whatever education he received was inferior.

He may be like Oscar L., who wants to buy a television set. Oscar is a little man, shriveled at 51, who reads at the third-grade level and is proud of it. Several months ago, Oscar was hard-pressed to read at all and had to depend on his wife to bestow his greatest pleasure — the words of the Holy Bible. Now Oscar reads those words himself, lingering on syllables and rolling them around on his tongue.

Yet it took great courage for Oscar to come to a READ class and reveal what he considered a shameful secret.

How did he happen to come? And just what does Detroit's Project READ try to do for him? Detroit schools had had adult education for almost a century, but the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 enabled them to dramatically expand and improve this service. Seven hundred persons entered the initial fall classes. Some 1,400 persons were enrolled for the summer program and 2,800 by fall.

But the need was far greater than this response. The Detroit metropolitan area contained in 1965 over 100,000 adults with elementary level academic skills. Those who entered early READ classes included both the native-born, mainly Southern-born Negroes, and immigrants, primarily from the Middle East. The average age was 42, and 70 percent were women. Some 86 percent had lived in Detroit for over 10 years, and 70 percent had one or more children in their care. Sixty-seven percent had received less than a ninth grade education, and 12 percent never had attended school.

Once these people were enrolled, however, project personnel discovered that teaching them to read did not fully satisfy their need — just as learning a skill was only half the battle for Skills Center students.

Ferrier saw the READ program as having three basic objectives: 1) moving its unemployed enrollees toward the Skills Center or other work-training; 2) moving them toward graduation from the eighth grade or high school, and 3) helping people to improve their capacities for parenthood.

Teachers in READ Centers, which include churches, jails, union halls, recreation centers and schools, also have something in common with their Skills Center counterparts. They have had to abandon most traditional approaches. Instead, they try to develop close ties with their students.

"We tell our students if they buy anything to discuss it with their teacher," says Ferrier. "And they know they can always call a teacher at his home. If a teacher doesn't want his home phone number given out, he isn't for this program."

A basic goal of such efforts is to prevent undue pupil exploitation. The *Pacemaker*, a monthly newspaper produced by the READ staff also attempts in simple language to acquaint students with such everyday facts of urban life as cooking beef stroganoff, using good telephone manners and buying on credit. It stresses the student's rights as a citizen.

"Do you think laws need to be passed to cut down on high credit rates?" the conclusion to one *Pacemaker* article read. "Why not write a state representative about it today? Maybe you can tell him what happened to you or a friend. He will want to know all about it. Get your friends to write a state representative."

The READ staff also is experimenting with programmed texts for adult education that feature consistent spelling patterns and deal with subjects of value to these adults, such as block clubs. Yet the emphasis in teaching is not the same for all students.

"The foreign born have many advantages," says Ferrier. "They come here to relatives and a job, and the ethnic clubs are very strong. All they need is to get to the level where they can communicate verbally, and they can make it.

"For the native born, we emphasize communication skills, primarily reading, in terms of helping them to help their children and to benefit more from training. We emphasize making them more aware of how things go in a big city, how to combat bureaucracy, and how to organize politically. We are not necessarily trying to create leaders, but good followers."

Helping the often-confused and somewhat embarrassed prospective READ enrollee even to get involved in the project is not easy. If such a person calls READ offices and someone answers "Board of Education," he may be startled and hang up. And often, he will pick up a registration card, mail it in and still fail to show up for class.

Six regional coordinators who supervise the program have the responsibility for making direct contact with such persons. READ educational task forces also include teachers, teacher aides, student aides, a community contact agent, and, in some cases, an instructional consultant and a department head. Each task force operates independently of the central office and, with the assistance of a local lay advisory committee, attempts to meet the special educational needs of its community.

Groups are a major aid to recruitment. Organizations such as the United Auto Workers regularly push READ registration, scattering cards throughout plants with the theme, "Learn in a UAW Hall."

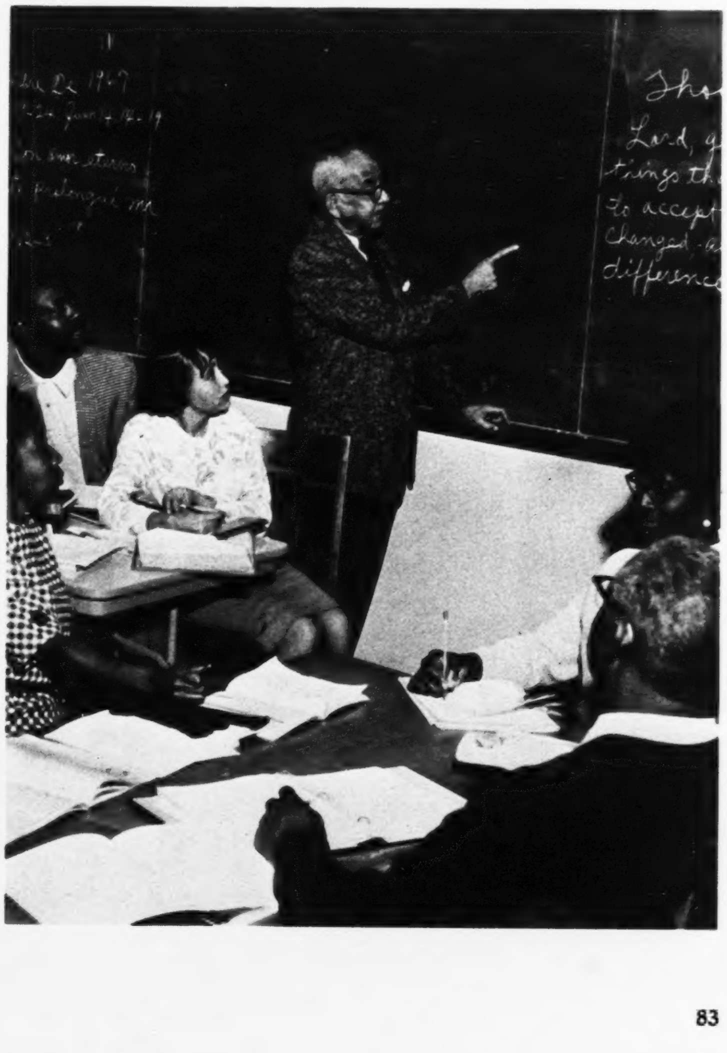
Churches, particularly the rural-oriented storefronts, are beginning to join the effort. READ personnel, recognizing that people who neither read newspapers, watch television or visit schools can often be reached through these churches, have even hired several of their ministers to establish classes for their flocks.

And a series of color slides have been developed to graphically point out program highlights to groups addressed by READ staff members.

Where does READ stand now? Project enrollment had risen to about 4,000 in 100 Centers by early 1968. The average age is now 40, and 77 percent still are Southern-born. Enrollees attend both day and night classes, usually at Centers in their own neighborhoods. The philosophy remains the dual one of both improving the person's academic skills and improving him.

"We must be prepared to meet to some degree a student's personal needs which may be much deeper and more crucial than just the ability to function in our society," Ferrier emphasizes.

"An adult lacking in the ability to read and write often has a keen sense of personal failure and inadequacy, a factor which also tends to undermine other members of the family unit. But the adult educator can serve as the vehicle through which the hereditary repetition of poverty and/or ignorance may be altered."



Part 3

. . . Stayin' Sober

They are winos and radicals, ADC mothers and dropouts, people who have had a hard time finding acceptance. The Urban Adult Education Institute (UAEI) accepts them and tries to make them more acceptable — particularly to prospective employers.

Once these people step behind UAEI's doors, they begin to talk about their problems and to become aware of others, such as a heavy use of profanity or a quarrelsome attitude. For urban adult education, to UAEI's director Dr. Joseph Paige, is more than just reading and arithmetic; it is *coping*.

Within the framework of the institute, Paige has built a unique program geared to simultaneously test out various methods of teaching and programmed materials, work with community resources and measure the effectiveness of a program in terms of changes in behavior.

The complex program functions in simple surroundings on Detroit's near Westside, the center sparsely furnished with cast-off odds and ends. "If they can learn here they can learn anywhere," Paige says, smiling.

Actually, most of UAEI's students could not learn anywhere else. When Dr. Paige says that his program takes people who don't fit into other programs he means just that: school dropouts attend center classes as do people from Job Upgrading, another federally sponsored program especially geared to dropouts.

One reason is the status, the other the atmosphere. A youngster who dropped out of high school, at UAEI becomes a teacher assistant, since he is bound to be more familiar with classroom materials than adults who may not have completed grammar school. The atmosphere is relaxed but potentially explosive. Two students, for instance, recently got into a hassle over the free sandwiches the institute provides. Four letter words crackled in midair and a visitor cringed, whispering to Paige, "Aren't you afraid?"

Paige wasn't afraid, knowing no fisticuffs would follow, but he was concerned. He taped the altercation and played it back before a class which included the irate students. Hearing themselves as others heard them for the first time, the students agreed the incident could have been handled better and finally begged Paige to erase it from the tape.

Paige considered the incident par for an average day at the center. "In the mainstream," he explains, "if someone asks you how you are you answer 'fine', but these people say 'my feet hurt.' They don't know 'how are you' means 'hi friend.'

"They also are confused about the contradictions in democracy. We talk to them about the ideals, about the give and take in society; how they must accommodate differences of opinions in respect to attitudes, but also must try to make the world better."

And a major problem Paige has to work with at the institute is anti-middle class attitudes. "I tell them 'let's knock notions, not the middle-class.' If middle-class means an extra car, etc., don't knock it; find out how you can enjoy that. But by all means let's hit injustice, bias."

As director of the experimental institute, which began October 1967, Paige faces a hectic schedule: breakfasting with some group nearly every morning, then touring sites where institute people have been placed on jobs.

The institute itself is not a job-training facility. But it is closely tied to such facilities and tries to place its people, who have been upgraded through basic education courses, on jobs. Operated by the Detroit Board of Education in cooperation with Wayne State University, the institute is the only national center of its kind in the country dealing with the problems of adults in urban settings. It is focused on the under-educated adult and ways to improve effectiveness in teaching him and steering him into a job he will be able to keep.

"A large majority of our participants feel they may have been cheated by society," said Paige. "Some of them have never worked in their lives and others have not worked in years."

When a person applies for entrance into the institute, he is given a placement test. The results of the test determine the level at which the applicant will start. No matter at what level the applicant starts, he is encouraged to complete qualifications for a general education diploma. All participants move through the program at their own speed and complete their education to the highest point they desire, up to and including preparation for college work.

Elmer Shoots, 23, is a high school drop-out and a participant in the program. He has been in the program since November and was unemployed five months before that. He is the father of three children, the oldest of whom is two.

"I'm getting a whole lot of learning," said Shoots, who was born in Mississippi. He hopes to get a high school education and a job as a machinist.

Mrs. Lucille Lucas, 42, is a grandmother. Born in Georgia, she has had a formal education of six years.

"I'm very satisfied with the program here," said Mrs. Lucas, who transferred to the institute from another basic education program, "and I hope to be able to get a hospital or food service job. A good job is just about all I want out of it."

A cooperative venture between the center and the Detroit Urban League helps to ensure that they will have jobs. The center does testing for the League and assists it in following up on-the-job trainees. The Urban League, in turn, does placement for some of the institute's students. The center also works with several private employers who have people in job-training by designing programs and doing research for them.

Programs at the institute are tailored to fit the needs of students. Presently, 249 persons are enrolled in three experimental programs at UAEI. In cooperation with the local anti-poverty agency, 80 mothers and fathers receiving Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) are in adult basic education classes 40 hours per week. There are 104 on-the-job trainees in ABE classes for 16 hours per week.

In other UAEI programs, 65 persons are in consumer education classes, including basic mathematics and drapery making, eight hours per week.

Paige is proud of the fact that the program is in contact "with all elements."

He means no one is turned away.

If a student comes in drunk, he is allowed to rest on one of the comfortable, worn sofas in the center's "lounge," until he is able to enter class. Paige anticipates that in the future the program will include special projects for drunks and winos, chronic offenders, dope users, the aged and the physically and mentally handicapped.

The institute also places special emphasis on reaching the "alienated, militants and radicals," Paige revealed. Overcoming such persons' usual aversion and distrust for "the establishment," Paige and the institute personnel have succeeded in enrolling so-called angry black militants in UAEI and helping a number of local militant groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) set up classes in basic education.

A variety of programmed materials, including computer-assisted instruction and educational television, are being used in classes of no more than 20.

A group of 53 adults is reviewing the fundamentals of math as part of a consumer education program concerned

with the development of shopping and home skills. Included in the overall program are special class meetings in sewing, aimed at developing abilities in drapery making, slipcover making and general sewing. Three hours of "academics" are being given for every hour of sewing instruction.

Eighty ADC recipients are participating in a program jointly sponsored by the anti-poverty agency and UAEI. Forty are bussed to anti-poverty facilities for classes, while 40 are attending classes in the UAEI building. Areas of study include budgeting, comparative shopping and credit buying. Results of the two programs are being compared.

Two classes of adult students participate in the READ basic literacy program. One class uses regular Project READ instructional materials, while the other class serves as the experimental group. This group is being exposed to materials regularly used as well as to a wide variety of new, programmed learning materials.

Two classes in personal grooming and hygiene for women in the 18 to 35, and 35 to 55 age groups are being conducted in the UAEI building. Personal health, cleanliness, diets, grooming and shopping on a budget are included in these programs.

In order to identify changes in student behavior, institute personnel seek to gain intimate knowledge of a student's background. If a student is absent from school one day, the next day a community liaison person is at his home to find out why. And all staff members, Paige points out, are encouraged to inform students they will be coming to their homes sometime to share coffee and conversation.

Since students often have strong, anti-middle-class sentiments, the center staff tries to walk the thin line between being at the students' level and being "too middle-class."

Teachers of varying backgrounds are used in the program and attempts are made to judge their styles of teaching and of perceiving students. Personnel also experiment with different class arrangements and sizes. They are concerned with changes in student attendance and other outward behavior forms.

Upon completion of the program, UAEI hopes to have assessed the effectiveness of new materials and programs and to have identified behavioral changes to be effected in reading, skills, home life, citizenship, job securement and other areas.

"We aren't concerned with pushing large numbers of people through the program" Paige says. "We are concerned with what happens to them after they leave."

Part 4

. . . Or Nothin'

Howard M. is 27, likeable and husky. He didn't expect to do much of anything this year except drift, nabbing an odd job where he could find it. If things got really rough, he planned to just take to the road and hobo across country. Instead, Howard is working in a school.

For some people, this might not be exceptional, but to Howard, an ex-convict who served two years for breaking and entering, it definitely is. Legitimate employers always had turned their backs to him, and the best he ever had done was work as a bouncer in a bar.

Howard now hopes to become a neighborhood aide — in the moments when his fears clear enough to allow him to have thoughts at all.

There are 165 people like Howard in the Detroit Board of Education's segment of the new Urban Area Employment Project (UAEP), and most of them are scared, too. But they also are hopeful and have great expectations for what is going to happen when 32 community people become members of the staffs of five schools.

Some 1,700 persons were being trained beginning late in 1967 in the citywide UAEP program, sponsored by the local anti-poverty agency under the Office of Economic Opportunity. They were people from the so-called "impact employment" area in the core of the city where the highest unemployment rates prevail. All either had no previous work history or had been working in occupations inferior to their abilities.

The Board's program involved 10 weeks of training during which enrollees were paid and received training in educational philosophy under a separate grant from the Bank Street College of Education in New York. During training, enrollees became eligible for internships as either classroom, neighborhood or service aides. Following the training, enrollees could be employed in one of these categories, receive a raise in pay and become eligible for advancement from the lower service aide rating. UAEP trainees were to be channelled into five schools, under coaches charged with working both with them and with school staffs to build acceptance for the trainees.

As service aides, these trainees would do clerical work, monitor hallways or perform such housekeeping tasks as caring for pets. Neighborhood aides were being asked to contact "hard to reach" parents and help interpret school programs to their communities. And classroom aides were to work under teacher supervision with individual children

or groups.

And who were these trainees? The average enrollee was female in her late 30's or early 40's, a mother who had been on ADC for years. She had completed the ninth grade. She had a terrible time living until her first pay check arrived, around Christmas time.

She thinks schools do a fair, not good, job. She has been a resident of Detroit for 15 to 20 years, but wasn't born here. And she is frightened, her apprehension increasing as the time draws near for her to receive her assignment.

She feels she is "talked at" too much during training sessions. She is pretty apt, often articulate, but doesn't understand all she reads in the newspapers or hears on television — often, through knowledge gaps, misinterpreting what is heard.

She is very unclear about how a bureaucracy operates, how you get things to happen, what procedures you follow in a school. But she is determined to learn.

The average male is somewhat different. Outnumbered by the female, he is likely to be either in his late 20's or late 50's, with an extensive criminal record. He is more likely to have committed crimes against property than person. He may have been in trouble since he was 17. And if his female counterpart is frightened, he is absolutely terrified.

These were the people employed as school aides at an entry pay level of $2 an hour, 40 hours weekly, with guaranteed advancement to a possible maximum of $2.50 per hour.

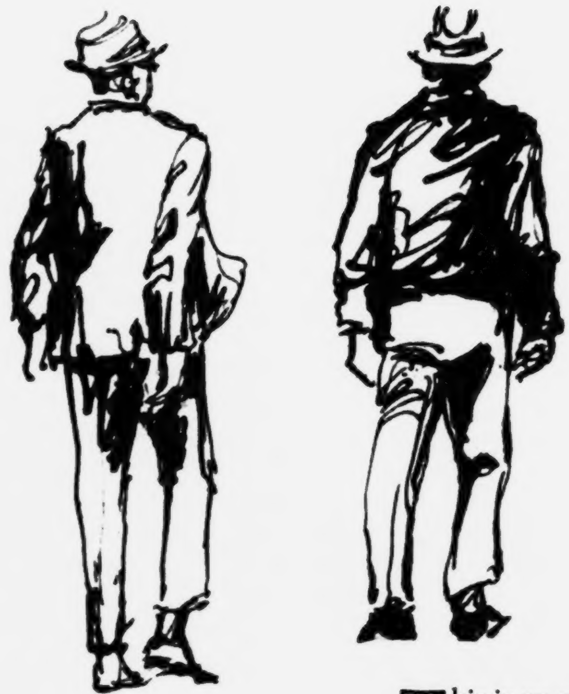
These were the people who were being urged to complete their high school and college education and become teachers.

They are there because project director Aileen Selick believes in them.

"I have leveled with each one of them and told them how much depends on them," she said. "I don't think they are going to let me down."

CHAPTER 5

The Challenge



This is an area where respectability has become the shoots of ivy that still shower down the sides of a few frame houses. It is Detroit's Eastside, where the Negro ghetto began to flourish — and fester — right after World War II.

Many of the city's most deprived youngsters are concentrated in schools here. Unemployment is nearly twice that of the rest of the city. And the crime rate is soaring as burglary and robbery become a way of life for some.

The Eastside . . . where smoke from last summer's catastrophic riot seems to have left boarded-up buildings a grimmer gray . . . where people as well as buildings, children along with adults, are in need of repair.

And this, too, is where federal projects personnel expect to find their greatest challenge. With Title III, Title I and other funds, the special projects staff is committed to converting a sector of the Eastside into a model school area, the so-called Butzel project, which will focus on a neighborhood educational center providing services for the entire community from conception through retirement.

Five schools are involved in the Title III project: Eastern High School, Butzel Junior High School and the Bell, Berry and Field schools. The Title III grant, approved early in 1968, is for $2 million a year for three years. It is the largest single grant ever allocated by the federal government to a school district. With it, the five model schools will be able to reduce their class size and rearrange their administrative structure to coordinate the efforts of a number of special concentrated projects.

Those working with the project hope to put into practice a lot of new thinking in education. There will be counseling and guidance programs, special emphasis on students' nutritional requirements, as well as supplementary medical and dental care. This summer teachers and staff will be trained, and the following two summers work will be done with students.

Over the three-year period, the goal is to establish a system of compensatory education to raise youngsters' academic achievement in reading and mathematics. Class sizes are being reduced to approximately 22 students per class. Specially prepared teachers are being trained to work not only with children and parents but with all the resources of the community.

The Detroit Board of Education and school administration had made several pleas for increased funding before federal officials last summer following the city's civil disorder. They asked for special funds to prove that a good educational program could make a difference for inner city schools. Their proposals helped change the direction of Title III to include highly concentrated innovation and demonstration. The Detroit Title III project is the largest ever attempted and the first to be combined with other federal government programs in the same area.

Dr. Louis D. Monacel, assistant superintendent for special projects, said that the area to be served has a population of 75,000 persons, including 20,000 school children. The project is designed to work within the boundaries of the Neighborhood Service Program operated by the city with financing from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Office of Housing and Urban Development.

Each member of a family in the model school area could use some service, including "open-ended" programs for which support other than Title III funds is being sought.

An unwed mother, after receiving pre-natal care under the Continuing Education for Girls program, could enroll her child in year-round preschool by the time he is three. This same child, at 4½ , would be left in a day care center, while his mother went to work or received basic education at the Urban Education Institute. At 6, he would be one of 20 students in two groups in a class with a teacher and teacher aide.

About 20 different agencies in all are involved providing health services, a child-parent center, and additional library services. The project is within the larger Urban Area Employment Program area and also the Title I prime target area for class size cuts.

The parent and child center, already in the planning stage early in 1968, was slated for inclusion in the city's Model Cities program for the area adjoining the Butzel project. And under Title VI of ESEA, money was being sought for handicapped youngsters of all kinds. But the Title III or Butzel project was the center of activity.

Elementary schools in the Butzel area, Dr. Monacel pointed out, will have "clusters" of four teachers for every three classrooms. They will also have three additional administrators with the rank of assistant principal to serve as instructional leaders supervising an entirely new approach to the curriculum.

Teachers will have an eight-week training course in the new curriculum which will stress "pre-reading" and "pre-math" for the lower grades. The method of presenting the curriculum is being changed to make it more effective with as many as 22 and as few as three students in a class.

In addition to the new services and curriculum, involved schools will continue to get extra services provided under Title I, including the school-community agent, reading coordinator and health coordinator.

The one junior high — Butzel — will have math and reading specialists assigned as well as an additional counselor, a health coordinator, and an extra administrator. Installed, too, will be a computer keyboard connected to a central computer which will be available for student use for math.

At Eastern High School there will be an expanded science program in which chemistry, biology, and physics will be taught in relation to water pollution in the Detroit area. Special reading and math development classes will be offered also in the high school.

Involvement of citizens of the area calls for each of the five schools to have a Citizens Advisory Committee. They will work with school administrators and a policy board of approximately 25 professionals and 25 citizens who will oversee the entire project.

Another aspect of the federal grant includes planning funds to develop a Youth Industries Employment Program. In this, high school drop outs could be organized and trained for simple commercial ventures. They would form their own companies in which they would be both stockholders and employees — very much like Junior Achievement.

Dropouts too will be involved in another training program that will provide an entry to a field of well paid jobs for such computer operations as keypunch operator. The number of such jobs is expected to double in the next ten years and even low-skill employees can earn as much as $7,000 a year in this field, said Dr. Monacel.

Both Dr. Drachler and Dr. Monacel applauded this concentration of federal services in the belief that it will result in more significant gains for inner city children. They emphasized that although five schools will receive the major concentration of funds, 22 other schools will benefit to some degree from the training center.

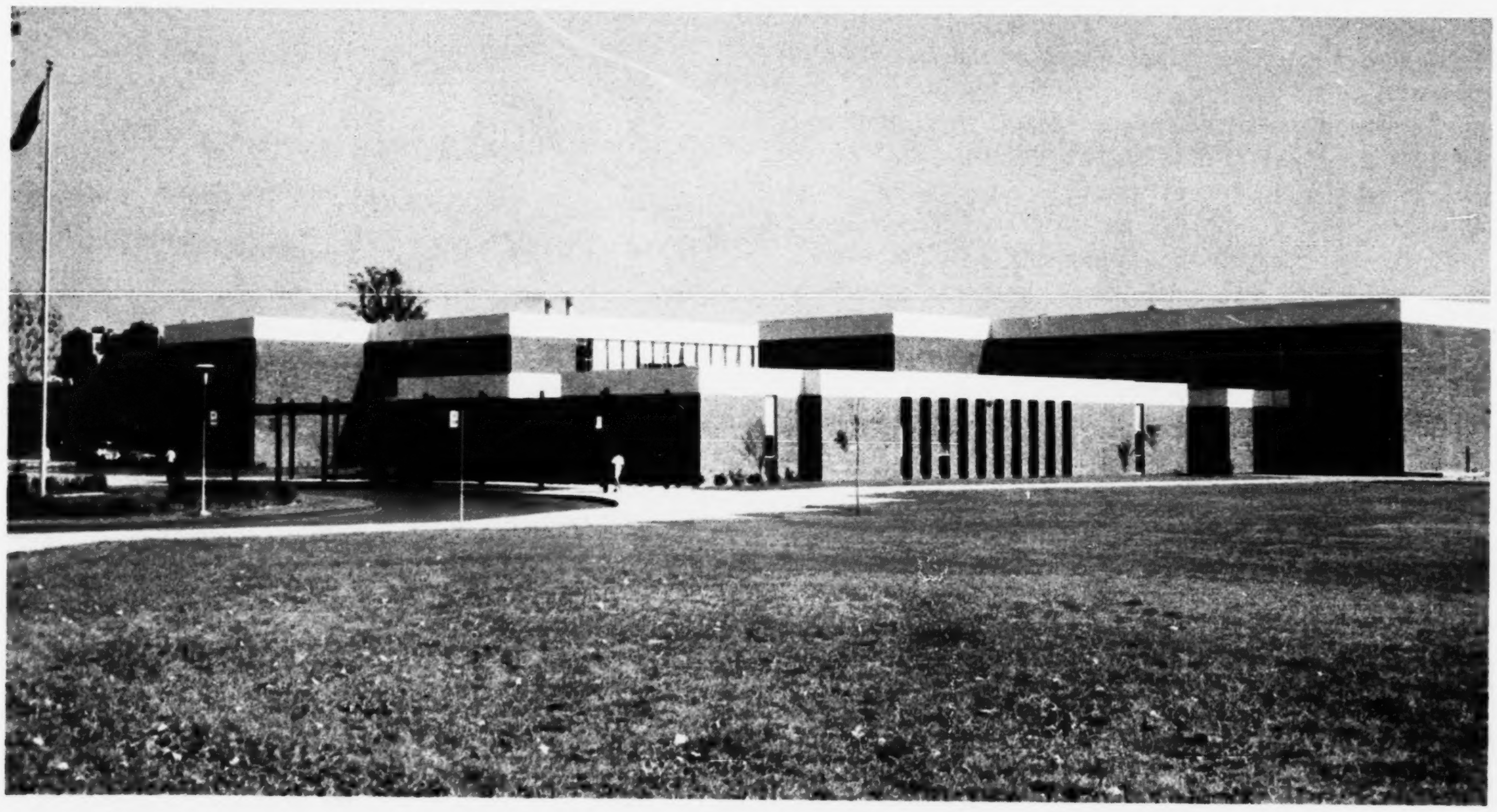
Both educators are laying their professional reputations on the line in the venture. Guaranteed annual funding for three years, they have guaranteed the program will have successful results.

"In the inner-city," said Dr. Drachler, "we have had the older schools, most crowded classrooms and least experienced teachers. Now we are setting up ideal conditions in these five schools.

"We know these children are educable, and that the education-achievement level of most children in Detroit can be raised. If we succeed, we hope to go to the state and federal governments and say, 'This can be done in other parts of the city.'"

The ultimate shape federal programming will take in the future of Detroit's schools, however, will continue to depend on general trends within the system. The impetus, the push, the drive for improvement, will come from the top, and that, in Detroit, is the citizens Board of Education and school superintendent Drachler.

A veteran educator, Dr. Drachler became superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools in March of 1967 after being acting superintendent for eight months. Among his immediate objectives was the addition of more young people,



more Negroes and more specialists to a school staff that was still largely Anglo-Saxon and tradition-minded. New administrators no longer could depend on the handy crutch of tenure to support them in ineptitude, but instead were appointed for three-year probationary periods. Administrators who were not teachers also could be hired for the first time: Arthur L. Johnson, a Negro with wide experience in civil rights, was named deputy superintendent in charge of the division of school-community relations, the first division of its kind in the country.

"The effect of all of this was to put us on our toes, to serve notice that various forms of mediocrity and incompetence won't be tolerated," said Dr. Drachler.

"We are also shifting principals around," he added. "For example, if a principal had bad relations with a community, we want to know why and do something about the situation. Our biggest task is to improve the quality of education we offer, not to blame our failures on 'culturally deprived' students."

As a part of that effort, the administrative structure of the school system has been reorganized to bring it closer to the people and their concerns for their schools. Class size has been cut across the board and measures instituted to upgrade the performances of teachers. The regions of school districts were reorganized in the fall of 1967. Persons holding newly-created posts of region superintendents and assistants, several of them Negroes, now are able to work directly with their communities on improving local school programs. Two of these assistants have been assigned to work with the superintendent assigned to the Butzel area.

In another move to focus more personnel on school problems, 18 Title I demonstration teachers to work with classroom teachers throughout the city were introduced February 1, 1968. Nine were assigned to reading, nine to arithmetic. This task force now is moving about the schools, seeking to help improve the quality of teaching staffs.

And, meeting a persistent community concern, class size was reduced by two students across the city in October 1967, and further reductions came in February 1968.

Complicating, yet increasing the need for a continued thrust for quality education throughout Detroit was the riot which devastated the city in the summer of 1967. In its wake, Superintendent Drachler appeared before the U.S. Senate Education Committee to press his case for increased federal funding for the city's schools.

"We need conditions much superior to our previous normalcy if there is to be any hope for the future of our city and the metropolitan area," he told the committee.

Citing the decline in the city's assessed valuation, which decreases the base upon which schools get their support, the superintendent revealed that the riot would reduce revenue by another half-million dollars due to the destruction of property. But needs in the 178 schools within the area affected by the tragedy had increased.

The Title III project was the federal government's answer to Dr. Drachler's pleas.

It was also the challenge.

APPENDIX

By John Lindsey
Office of Program Development

Evaluation has been an integral part of Federally Funded Projects in Detroit since the beginning of the Great Cities Project in 1959. In 1965, evaluation was given further emphasis as a required component in the E.S.E.A. legislation. The following pages present the result of evaluation of the many projects taken from many sources.

Part 1

The Original Great Cities Project

A Report Of Responses To The Teacher Opinionnaire

A Teacher Opinionnaire was administered to teacher personnel in the Great Cities Schools in 1962 to survey their feelings about various features of the Great Cities Program and to solicit their opinions as to the effectiveness of these features.

In order to classify the responses of each teacher to the open-ended questions, it was necessary to create categories into which individual answers could be placed. The summaries which follow are the result of such classification of responses. The answers are reported by Elementary Schools (Burton, Couzens, Franklin, Marcy) and by Secondary Schools (Barbour, Eastern, and Jefferson). The "items" identified in Tables 1-6 are the categories into which individual answers were placed. The number of responses in each category have been consolidated and are reported in "percents"; specifically the percent of all teachers responding to the question.

Question A. In your opinion, what are the major objectives of the Detroit Great Cities Project?

The responses to this question tend to support that which was anticipated, namely, a reflection of the literature about the Project which has been widely distributed throughout the experimental schools and through mass media. For this reason, slightly more than 46 percent of all the respondents mentioned cultural improvement of children from lower socio-economic levels as one of the major objectives. An additional 25.5 percent indicated improved school-community relations. Improved behavior within the community and improved children's achievement and self-image accounted for the remainder.

TABLE 1

Categories of Responses to Question A by Elementary and Secondary Schools

Categories into Which Individual Responses Were Placed	Elementary Schools N*	Elementary Schools %	Secondary Schools N	Secondary Schools %
1. Cultural Improvement of Children from Lower Socio-economic Class	93	40	172	46
2. Improvement of School-Community Relations	75	32	95	26
3. Motivating Students to Greater Achievement	28	12	41	11
4. Upgrading of Entire Community	18	8	32	9
5. Improvement of Students' Self-Image	13	6	12	3
6. Other	8	2	21	5
Total	235[1]	100	373[1]	100

*N — Number of Responses[1]

[1] The total number of responses is greater than the number of completed opinionnaires because some teachers gave more than one answer to Question A.

Question B. In what respects has the project been most successful in working toward these (stated) objectives?

Of even greater importance, perhaps, than knowledge of the Project's objectives are the perceptions which teachers have about the success or weaknesses of the several aspects of the Project program. When asked Question B above, the distribution of responses was varied but followed definite patterns. Teachers' answers are summarized in Tables 2-4.

TABLE 2

Categories of Successful Activities with Pupils

Categories into Which Individual Responses Were Placed	Elementary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	N	%	N	%
1. Extended School Program — Nursery Library, etc.	49	20	—	—
2. Trips	44	18	65	23
3. Cultural Enrichment	35	14	54	19
4. Extra Curricular Activities	—	—	66	24
5. Improved Self-Image and Student Attitude	34	14	—	—
6. Special Personnel — Material	30	12	31	11
7. Remedial Work	19	8	34	12
8. Increased Motivation	16	6	23	8
9. Non-Graded Primary Unit	12	5	—	—
10. Other	10	3	7	3
Total	249	100	280	100

TABLE 3

Categories of Success with Parents and Community

Categories into Which Individual Responses Were Placed	Elementary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	N	%	N	%
1. Improved Home-School Relations	78	52	104	47
2. After-School Programs	46	30	68	31
3. Parent Conferences	19	13	38	17
4. Improved Self-Image (Parents)	8	5	10	5
Total	151	100	220	100

Question C. If you were directing this Project, what aspects would you add, eliminate, or change?

Tables 5-7, which follow, summarize the responses of teachers regarding Question C above. Table 5 refers to recommended changes that would help pupils, Table 6 describes improvements for parents and community, and Table 7 categorizes better activities for school faculties.

TABLE 4

Categories of Successful Activities in Which School Faculties Have Engaged

Categories into Which Individual Responses Were Placed	Elementary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	N	%	N	%
1. Greater Awareness	75	47	73	42
2. Special Personnel — Material, Facilities	43	27	52	30
3. Workshops	15	9	17	10
4. Freedom for Experimentation	14	9	—	—
5. Unfavorable*	—	—	14	8
6. Other	12	8	17	10
Total	159	100	173	100

*These were mixed comments that probably should have been made more appropriately to Question C and included in Table 7.

TABLE 5

Recommended Improvements to Help Pupils, by Categories

Categories of Activities Which Need Improvement	Elementary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	N	%	N	%
1. More academic subjects, better supervised, better distributed participation in after-school programs	29	28	—	—
2. Smaller Pupil-Teacher Ratio	15	14	32	28
3. Special Guidance in Social Responsibilities (Parents and Children)	14	14	—	—
4. More Remedial and Teaching Aids	21	20	24	21
5. Better Guidance and Counseling (College and Vocational)	—	—	18	16
6. Class and Course Revisions (Testing, Workbooks, Non-graded Primary, Self-contained rooms)	13	12	11	10
7. Greater Participation	—	—	18	16
8. Other	12	12	12	10
Total	105	100	115	100

TABLE 6

Recommended Improvements to Help Parents and Community

Categories of Activities Which Need Improvement	Elementary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	N	%	N	%
1. Counseling on Health, Homemaking, Social Techniques and Economics	25	40	—	—
2. Greater Participation	24	39	45	63
3. Special Involvement of Parents	11	18	—	—
4. Check Interest Areas in Adult Classes	—	—	5	7
5. Greater Emphasis on GCSIP	—	—	13	18
6. Other	2	3	9	12
Total	62	100	72	100

TABLE 7

Recommended Improvements to Help School Faculties

Categories of Activities Which Need Improvement	Elementary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	N	%	N	%
1. Greater Coordination, Orientation, Communication, and Participation	39	53	67	53
2. More Free Time	16	22	26	20
3. Special Selection of Faculty	13	18	21	16
4. Other	6	7	14	11
Total	74	100	128	100

Part 2

New Personnel and Activities

A study of relationships between achievement and involvement conducted at the seven Detroit Great Cities Experimental Schools, Spring, 1964.

In order to help determine what relationships exist between academic achievement and the involvement of pupils in six dimensions of school activity, in the Spring of 1964, data were systematically collected in the original seven Detroit Great Cities Experimental Schools. The criteria for achievement consisted of individuals' Fall, 1963 composite scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in Grades 4B, 6B, and 8B. At the high school level, the Fall, 1963, STEP Reading Test scores were used to determine achievement. The definition of high achievers is those children who are at or above grade placement in the Iowa Composite Score or the STEP Scores. In order to determine the "variety and extent of involvement," we wished to determine how often and to what extent children and parents were involved in the following activities:

Parental Involvement in the School Program
Field Trip Program
Academic Summer School
Extended School Activities Program
Visiting Teacher Program
Coaching Teacher Program

An IBM Card was prepared for each pupil, with his name, his achievement scores and other pertinent information printed on it. In the junior and senior high schools a random sample was selected corresponding in size to the average elementary enrollment. This amounted to about 150 cards per school. At the elementary level, *all* children were rated. Project Personnel visited each of the seven schools and met with key personnel who helped determine the various degrees of involvement of each of the pupils under consideration. The personnel directly involved in examination and classification of this information were as follows:

1. School-Community Agent
2. Key teachers and counselors
3. The Assistant Principals in charge of summer school
4. The Principals of some of the particular schools
5. The Visiting Teacher
6. The Coaching Teacher

The cards were presented to the school staff members and each was asked to rate each child in the sample on a scale from 1 to 9 with high numbers representing high involvement in any of the six categories mentioned above. The numbers of children in the sample who could not be rated were very few (less than 1%), except at the high school level where measures of involvement in the extended school program and in summer school could not be made. Time did not allow teachers to become available for the rating process in the high school.

The Visiting Teacher rated children in terms of the child's involvement in her program, the School-Community Agent had a direct part in the ratings concerned with field trips and after-school programs. The Coaching Teacher assessed the extent of involvement of the children whom she had worked with in her program. Ratings were made, then, by people who were in a position to have accurate information about the extent of involvement of each of the children in question.

Analysis Of Data

Chi-Square was used as the statistical methodology throughout the study. Chi-Squares have been computed by school levels for each of four of the activities in each of the schools and these are presented in the tables which follow. Table 8 below combines the frequencies presented in four of the five tables which immediately follow it. This is done in order to give us, initially, measures of total involvement which include the following dimensions of activities: Parental Involvement; Field Trips; Summer School; Extended School Activities.

Table 8

Numbers of Pupils Classified by Achievement and Involvement at Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High School Levels on Four Involvement Dimensions.[1]

School Levels and Achievement	Frequencies of Involvement				
	Low	Average	High	Totals	
Elementary —					
At or above Norm	114	73	237	424	
Below Norm	560	311	896	1767	
Totals	674	384	1133	2191	$x^2 = 4.38$
Junior High —					
At or above Norm	148	62	29	239	
Below Norm	891	316	109	1316	
Totals	1039	378	138	1555	$x^2 = 4.72$
Senior High —					
At or above Norm	13	25	18	56	
Below Norm	126	45	84	255	
Totals	139	70	102	311	$x^2 = 21.94$**

[1] The involvement dimensions represented here are (1) Parental Involvement, (2) Field Trips, (3) Summer School and, (4) Extended School Activities. Senior high school data is limited to Parental Involvement and Field Trips in this table.

**Significant at the 1 percent level ($p < .01$).

It will be noted that no differences exist between the observed frequencies of involvement and the total frequencies for either high or low achieving pupils at both the elementary and junior high levels, as shown in Table 8. There is a difference at the senior high school level. The Chi-Square value indicates a difference which is significant at the 99 percent level of confidence. The difference can be observed in the disproportionately large number of high achievers in the average involvement category and the small number of high achievers in the low involvement category when these numbers are compared to the ratio of high and low achievers for the total group.

Tables 9 through 12 present frequencies of involvement in the four dimensions which were totaled in Table 8. Table 9 presents the information relative to the numbers of children whose parents exercise either low, average, or high involvement in any aspect of the program of the schools.

Table 9

Number of Pupils Classified by Achievement and Extent of Parental Involvement in the School Program.

School Levels pp

School Levels and Achievement	Involvement; Numbers of Pupils Low	Average	High	Totals
Elementary —				
At or above Norm	25	29	52	106
Below Norm	142	119	185	446
Totals	167	148	237	552 $x^2 = 3.39$
Junior High —				
At or above Norm	25	17	13	55
Below Norm	185	81	63	329
Totals	210	98	76	384 $x^2 = 2.20$
Senior High —				
At or above Norm	13	23	10	46
Below Norm	121	36	70	227
Totals	134	59	80	273 $x^2 = 26.60$**

**Significant at the 1 percent level ($p < .01$).

As in Table 8, there is no difference between the expected and observed frequencies at the elementary and junior high school levels between those children who are at or above Norm and those who are below the Norm in terms of how often and to what extent their parents participated. At the senior high school level, again, there is a difference with the Chi-Square value being significant at the 99 percent level of confidence and indicates that pupils who are high achievers have more parents participating or had their parents participating with average or higher intensity than expected.

Table 10 shows no differences in the extent of involvement in bus and field trips between high achievers and low achievers at the elementary or senior high school levels. At the junior high school level, however, there is a difference. The Chi-Square value is significant at the 99 percent level of confidence and indicates that more high achievers are highly involved in field trips than is expected.

Table 10

Numbers of Pupils Classified by Achievement and Involvement in the Field Trip Program

School Levels and Achievement	Involvement; Numbers of Pupils Low	Average	High	Totals
Elementary —				
At or above Norm	16	12	78	106
Below Norm	60	56	322	438
Totals	76	68	400	544 $x^2 = .27$
Junior High —				
At or above Norm	30	24	10	64
Below Norm	205	109	14	328
Totals	235	133	24	392 $x^2 = 13.75$**
Senior High —				
At or above Norm	0	2	8	10
Below Norm	5	9	14	28
Totals	5	11	22	38 $x^2 = 2.57$

**Significant at the 1 percent level ($p < .01$).

As in other tables, we are not in a position to establish cause and effect relationships from these data. Two assumptions can be made about these data upon initial inspection, and both require very cautious interpretation: because more high achievers than are expected are actually participating to a high degree in field trips at the junior high school level, it might be concluded that field trips positively affect achievement; it could also be that in the process of selecting pupils to participate in field trips, high achievers are selectively chosen while low achievers are not invited to attend. This is an example of why cause and effect relationships cannot be systematically or naively treated on the basis of the data.

Table 11 which follows presents the frequencies of children at or above the norm and those who are below the norm in both the elementary and junior high school and the relationship between achievement and the extent of involvement in academic summer school. No difference between number of children at or above their grade placement and those below their grade placement exist in terms of summer school involvement at either the elementary or junior high levels.

Table 11

Numbers of Pupils Classified by Achievement and Involvement in Summer School Programs.

School Levels and Achievement	Involvement; Numbers of Pupils			
	Low	Average	High	Totals
Elementary —				
At or above Norm	67	4	35	106
Below Norm	278	23	139	440
Totals	345	27	174	546 $x^2 = .41$
Junior High —				
At or above Norm	54	5	1	60
Below Norm	281	45	10	336
Totals	335	50	11	396 $x^2 = 1.60$

Table 12 which follows, indicates that there is a difference at the elementary level between the expected and observed frequencies of children who are high achievers and those who are low achievers in the extent of involvement they exercise in extended school activities. The Chi-Square value indicates a difference which is significant at the 99 percent level of confidence. More high achievers are involved in the average and high categories than expected. Fewer high achievers than expected are "low involved" at the elementary school level. No difference exists between high and low achievers regarding involvement in extended school activities at the junior high level.

Table 12

Numbers of Pupils Classified by Achievement and Involvement in Extended School Activities

School Levels ils

School Levels and Achievement	Involvement; Numbers of Pupils			
	Low	Average	High	Totals
Elementary —				
At or above Norm	6	28	72	106
Below Norm	80	113	250	443
Totals	86	141	322	549 $x^2 = 10.34$*
Junior High —				
At or above Norm	39	16	5	60
Below Norm	220	81	22	323
Totals	259	97	27	383 $x^2 = .28$

*Significant at the 1 percent level ($p < .01$).

Table 13, which follows, classifies children at all achievement levels by elementary, junior high and senior high school levels. The purpose of this table is to show differences among the three school levels not in terms of achievement but only by extent of involvement.

Table 13

Numbers of Pupils Classified by Total Achievement and Involvement at Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High Levels.

School Levels (All Achievers)	Involvement; Numbers of Pupils			
	Low	Average	High	Totals
Elementary	674	384	1133	2191 $x^2 = 322.59$
Junior High	1039	378	138	1555 $x^2 = 450.02$
Senior High	139	70	102	311 $x^2 = .77$
Totals	1852	832	1373	4057 $x^2 = 733.38$

Examination of Table 13 will show that total involvement of all children is higher than expected at the elementary level than either of the two other levels. Junior high school involvement for all children is, on the other hand, lower than expected for items of involvement. At the senior high level the involvement is about what we would expect. We must remember that only two dimensions of involvement were measured at senior high, namely parental involvement and field trip program. The Chi-Square values shown on Table 13 are unusually high and indicate the differences among levels are significant at the 99 percent level of confidence.

Additional Data

The two remaining dimensions of involvement are "Numbers of Pupils Classified by Achievement and Involvement in the Visiting Teacher Program" and "Numbers of Pupils Involved in the Coaching Teachers Program." Numbers of pupils involved in the Visiting Teacher Program at the elementary and junior high levels showed no difference between the expected involvement and actual involvement in terms of the students' achievement levels. In other words, when children were classified by involvement in the Visiting Teacher Program and compared on the basis of achievement levels, no difference existed. This indicated that Visiting Teachers are working with problem children drawn from all levels of achievement in each of the given schools.

In analyzing the information available in the Coaching Teachers Program, it must be remembered that the Coaching Teachers' primary function was to work with low-achieving pupils. As might be expected there was a difference between the expected and actual numbers of children involved in this activity at the elementary level. More high achievers had "low" involvement in this special service than expected. Fewer of the high achievers than expected had high involvement in the Coaching Program. This applies to elementary schools only. No difference existed at the junior high level between expected and actual numbers of children involved in this service. No figure could be computed for the senior high students because there were too few cases to enable a test of significance to be made.

School Community Agent

The School Community Agent is a professional worker attached to a local public school and responsible in a line way to the principal of that school. He is trained to stimulate and guide the community development process, assist the school in fulfilling its institutional goals, and help individuals and groups in the community to strengthen the attitudes, interests, and skills required for full democratic participation in seeking and implementing effective solutions to school-community problems.

Probably the most ideal setting in which an agent can function is the elementary school. This is a small enough geographic community for the agent to "know" in depth. He makes conscious use of himself as an extension of the school in a "helping role" in the community. He does not employ a "charitable," "do-for" approach. He may act as an "interpreter" between the school and the community with his goal being one of eventual dialogue or articulation between the school and the community.

He will strive to keep all channels of communication open to him both internally (the school) and externally (the community). He cannot afford value judgments of labeling. He will strive to embrace the concepts of the "community school" which believes that the community must be involved in all aspects of learning. He must act as a resource both in the school and in the community while helping both systems to function without acting in their behalf.

The agent must work with three separate systems simultaneously: the children, the parents and/or the community, and the teachers or school staff. All of his efforts are really directed ultimately toward improving the "chance" for the children.

The role of community agent had its beginning in 1959 when one individual staff member in each of three schools was selected to act in a liaison role between the school and the community. This person was called the "community coordinator." In 1960, the Great Cities Project was launched, and the term School Community Agent was coined for the liaison person assigned to each of the seven schools in the Project. It was also decided that recruitment for these positions should be conducted outside of the staff of the school system.

In 1961, it was decided that the secondary school in the Project should have two agents because of the greatly increased area that was to be served.

In 1964 with the emergence of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Great Cities Project was expanded to include twenty additional schools with the School Community Agent as part of the package. A Coordinator of Agents was added to the project staff at the same time to provide supervision and direction to the agents.

In 1966, six more schools were added to the Project, bringing the number of schools with Community Agent service to 33. In addition various other projects within the school system have requested the Professional Agent as part of the staff of their schools.

One last change was made in 1966 when the lay Community Assistant was added to the staffs of the schools.

The Reading Coordinator

The role of Reading Coordinator (formerly Coaching Teacher) is an evolving role. It was created at the beginning of the Great Cities Project to meet the unique needs of the reading underachiever. By 1964, the responsibilities of the Reading Coordinator were modified and expanded to include consultative instructional assistance for classroom teachers. This was especially important in the secondary schools where Reading is not taught as a formal subject and most secondary teachers do not have the necessary preparation or skills to attack the problems of poor reading. It was at this time that the title was changed from Coaching Teacher to Reading Coordinator to emphasize the many facets of the emerging role.

At present, a three-pronged approach to the reading problem is being evolved by Reading Coordinators assigned to the 36 schools currently involved in the Great Cities Project. It includes efforts to evolve a developmental reading program, a corrective reading program, and an enrichment program in each school.

In 1964, an evaluation was made of the many components which comprise the Great Cities Project. A summary of statements by approximately 325 persons related to the Reading Coordinator (or Coaching Teacher) follows:

Ninety-six percent of the respondents to the survey stated that the Coaching Teacher is a full time member of the faculty.

In response to a question about the assistance provided by the Coaching Teacher, 80 percent stated that this was through the preparation and presentation of bulletins, announcements or the printed material, 79 percent felt that most assistance came through the presentation of verbal and written materials by the Coaching Teacher. This was followed closely by the assistance directly from frequent meetings with the staff to share concern about reading.

Forty-two percent of the respondents stated that the Coaching Teacher was most useful in teaching small groups. Twenty percent stated that the Coaching Teacher was most useful in providing materials.

A question was included, asking, "To whom do you turn for help when you need curricular-instructional assistance?" Of nine choices the Coaching Teacher was ranked fourth by the respondents.

Another question asked what ingredient of the Great Cities Project should be selected as most crucial to the success of the pupils if the Great Cities Program was expanded to 30 more schools. The Coaching Teacher ranked first out of the fourteen choices made.

The only negatively cast question asked about the Coaching Teachers was: "What are the major weaknesses of the Coaching Program?" The response to this question was positive: "There are too many pupils for the number of Coaching Teachers."

In March 1968, a detailed questionnaire related to the Reading Coordinators was sent to the principals of schools with such a staff member on their faculties. All principals were asked, "Should the role of the Reading Coordinator be continued in inner city schools?" Why?" Ninety-six percent of all principals answered affirmatively and included forceful supporting comments. The rating in response to specific questions about characteristics of the Reading Coordinator was in general high, regardless of whether the Coordinator was new or had been on the job for several years. There was more reluctance on the part of principals to rank a Coordinator who was new on the job.

Overall, both the 1964 and the 1968 evaluations support the judgment that the Reading Specialist is filling a valuable role in answering one of the needs of inner city children.

Part 3

ESEA Title I and Great Cities

Operation Go

At the end of the Operation Go Project, the staff at each of the 22 project schools rated behavior and attitudes of each of its project pupils on a specially designed scale. The scale used requested judgements concerning the degree of improvement shown by each pupil on each of 15 criterion variables.

The frequencies of the ratings given by the staffs for the 562 project pupils at the 22 centers are shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Staff Perception of Changes In 562 Participants In Operation Go

Attitude or Behavior Rated by Staff	Frequencies of Responses by Staff			
	Improved	Unchanged	Deteriorated	Undetermined
Attitude toward peers	426	84	16	36
Attitude toward teachers	444	72	12	34
Skills in group planning and problem solving	375	132	7	48
Appreciation of the arts	343	143	9	7
Knowledge of American culture	349	143	10	60
Skills in games and sports	417	101	4	40
Pupil's self-image	416	103	10	33
Grooming habits	377	140	4	41
Aspirational level	382	121	14	45
Ability to work independently	369	136	13	44
Interest in learning in school	416	97	15	34
Interest in learning	397	111	10	44
Self-confidence	395	93	8	66
Knowledge of jobs and careers	361	131	10	60
Willingness to accept social rules of conduct	377	114	24	47

Basic Reading Demonstration Project

Tables 15 to 17 present data collected from the Basic Reading Demonstration Project. The gains in Table 15 represent the gains made after 6 months in each of the several methods of learning to read. The gains in Table 16 represent the growth in reading of pupils who were 10 months in the project. The gains reported in Table 17 were attained on a 16-month period of time. In all cases the measured mental ability of the youngsters should be taken into consideration when studying the effectiveness of the different mediums used to teach reading.

Table 15

Means and Standard Deviations of Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement Test Scores of Pupils in the Different Treatment Groups, Grade 1, 1965-66

Treatment	Primary Mental Abilities Test Summary Data in Stanine Unit			Stanford Achievement Test Summary Data in Grade Equivalent Units														
				Word Reading			Paragraph Meaning			Vocabulary			Spelling			Word Study Skills		
	No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD
Basal	209	3.9	1.6	203	1.5	.3	203	1.6	.3	192	1.5	.4	193	1.5	.4	202	1.5	.5
Phonic	226	3.3	1.4	210	1.3	.3	219	1.4	.3	219	1.4	.3	221	1.4	.5	213	1.5	.5
ITA (to)[1]	276	3.4	1.6	267	1.4	.4	264	1.4	.3	271	1.5	.5	268	1.6	.7	274	1.5	.4
ITA (ita)[2]	134	4.3	1.3	123	1.7	.5	122	1.6	.3	120	1.7	.4	119	2.0	.6	127	1.9	.9
Linguistic	322	3.8	1.4	311	1.3	.4	312	1.4	.2	314	1.6	.5	315	1.4	.3	320	1.5	.5
Programmed	348	3.7	1.6	342	1.4	.3	341	1.4	.2	336	1.5	.4	335	1.3	.3	341	1.5	.4
Unifon-Basal	50	3.5	1.4	48	1.4	.3	48	1.4	.2	47	1.4	.3	47	1.2	.4	47	1.3	.3
Unifon-Phonic	101	3.4	1.4	99	1.3	.3	99	1.4	.2	98	1.5	.5	98	1.4	.5	98	1.5	.5
Unifon-Linguistic	62	3.7	1.2	56	1.3	.3	56	1.3	.3	59	1.5	.4	59	1.4	.4	61	1.5	.4
Total	1728	3.7	1.5	1659	1.4	.3	1664	1.4	.2	1656	1.5	.4	1655	1.4	.4	1683	1.5	.5

[1] The ITA (to) group took the *Stanford Achievement Test* in traditional orthography.

[2] The ITA (ita) group took a special form of the *Stanford Achievement Test* in ITA orthography.

Table 16

Means and Standard Deviations of Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement Test Scores of Pupils in the Different Treatment Groups, Grade 1, 1966-67.

Treatment Method	PMA Test Scores in Stanine Units			No. Tested	Stanford Achievement Test, Primary I Battery Scores														
					Word Reading Raw Score			Paragraph Meaning Raw Score			Vocabulary Raw Score			Spelling Raw Score			Word Study Skills Raw Score		
	No. Tested	Mean	SD		Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE
Basal	197	3.5	1.5	239	16.1	6.6	1.6	14.4	6.5	1.6	17.9	6.3	1.5	8.1	4.8	1.7	29.2	11.2	1.5
Phonic	233	2.8	1.5	290	16.0	8.9	1.6	13.9	7.7	1.6	16.9	5.6	1.5	8.4	6.4	1.7	25.9	11.7	1.4
Linguistic	331	3.3	1.6	390	10.7	4.5	1.3	9.9	3.6	1.5	17.0	5.2	1.5	4.1	3.3	1.4	24.7	8.7	1.4
Programmed	353	3.6	1.7	431	15.7	7.6	1.6	14.5	8.3	1.6	18.1	5.6	1.5	7.3	5.6	1.6	28.6	11.9	1.5
ITA (to)	202	3.2	1.6	221	15.0	6.7	1.5	13.0	7.1	1.6	17.5	4.9	1.5	9.7	5.5	1.8	28.8	8.6	1.5
ITA (ita)	144	3.2	1.5	174	18.5	9.0	1.7	12.3	8.8	1.6	16.5	5.7	1.4	8.3	7.1	1.7	30.7	12.8	1.6
Unifon-Linguistic	53	3.7	1.7	81	14.5	6.3	1.5	15.0	7.4	1.6	17.6	6.1	1.5	7.3	4.5	1.6	27.8	11.0	1.5
Unifon-Basal	95	3.4	1.5	106	15.1	6.3	1.5	13.5	6.4	1.6	18.4	4.9	1.5	7.9	5.5	1.7	27.1	11.8	1.4
Unifon-Phonic	61	3.0	1.6	64	12.3	6.4	1.4	11.8	6.6	1.6	17.7	5.4	1.5	6.8	4.9	1.6	28.8	10.2	1.5
Total	1669	3.3	1.6	1996	14.8	7.4	1.5	13.0	7.2	1.6	17.5	5.6	1.5	7.4	5.7	1.6	27.6	11.0	1.5

Table 17

Means and Standard Deviations of Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement Test Scores of Pupils in the Different Treatment Groups, Grade 2, 1966-67

Treatment Method	PMA Test Scores in Stanine Units			No. Tested	Stanford Achievement Test, Primary II Battery Scores											
					Word Meaning Raw Score			Paragraph Meaning Raw Score			Spelling Raw Score			Word Study Skills Raw Score		
	No. Tested	Mean	SD		Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE	Mean	SD	GE
Basal	288	3.8	1.6	258	11.2	6.2	2.0	19.5	9.7	2.1	7.9	6.0	2.4	25.6	9.8	2.0
Phonic	248	3.1	1.4	263	13.4	7.4	2.4	20.0	9.6	2.1	10.6	8.6	2.7	26.1	10.5	2.0
Linguistic	341	3.6	1.5	379	10.5	5.1	1.9	18.7	8.1	2.1	7.1	6.1	2.3	23.4	8.1	1.7
Programmed	289	3.5	1.5	340	10.8	5.3	2.0	17.6	8.8	2.0	6.9	5.8	2.3	23.1	8.8	1.7
ITA-Linguistic	92	3.5	1.4	93	11.5	5.9	2.1	20.3	9.3	2.1	7.9	6.5	2.4	26.5	10.3	2.0
ITA-Basal	96	3.8	1.7	100	19.6	6.6	3.0	31.1	10.9	2.9	15.2	9.2	3.2	34.1	14.5	2.6
ITA-Phonic	217	3.6	1.6	224	11.2	5.8	2.0	18.0	9.1	2.0	7.3	7.0	2.3	24.8	9.5	1.9
Unifon-Linguistic	82	3.6	1.2	93	9.8	4.9	1.9	14.1	7.6	1.8	6.0	5.7	2.2	23.1	10.3	1.7
Unifon-Basal	99	3.6	1.3	109	9.5	4.6	1.8	16.3	7.6	1.9	5.5	4.3	2.1	22.9	7.1	1.7
Unifon-Phonic	70	3.5	1.4	75	13.4	6.9	2.4	20.0	10.2	2.1	8.7	6.5	2.5	28.1	12.2	2.1
Total	1762	3.5	1.5	1934	11.7	6.3	2.1	19.1	9.5	2.1	8.1	7.0	2.4	25.0	10.0	1.9

Teacher Aides

This section of the report presents the results obtained from a pair of questionnaires related to the Teacher Aide and completed in 1967. One questionnaire was completed by teachers who had aides and the other by the aides themselves. An observer's report was also employed and these results are also reported.

Questions regarding some of the teacher aide competencies in the Teacher Aide Questionnaire were expressed somewhat differently from those used on the Teacher Questionnaire. Even though the wording on the two questionnaires differed, similar competencies have been paired in Table 18 with the recognition that in some instances the paired competencies may be somewhat dissimilar.

Table 18

Percents of Teachers' and Teacher Aides' Responses to Questionnaire Items Regarding the Helpfulness of the Training Program in Developing Teacher Aide Competencies.

Frequencies of Teacher Responses in Percents			Teacher Aide Competence	Frequencies of Teacher Aides' Responses in Percents		
Little or No Help	Some Help	Quite or Very Helpful		Little or No Help	Some Help	Quite or Very Helpful
8	18	74	Understanding child development		3	97
12	26	62	Developing self-confidence	2	15	83
3	29	68	Working with teacher		3	97
14	19	67	Working with small groups		3	97
2	21	77	Developing rapport with children			
			Getting along with children		11	89
21	34	45	Participating in planning			
			Helping to plan	5	5	90
36	32	32	Helping students to locate information			
			Knowing where to look for information	3		97
14	53	33	Preparing materials for the teacher			
			Making things for the teacher	10	11	79
8	44	48	Differentiating between teacher's and aide's responsibilities			
			Understanding the difference between the teacher's job and the aide's job	5	5	90
46	18	36	Demonstrating as the teacher explains			
			Showing students how to do things	3	5	92
33	22	45	Assuming responsibility in unplanned-for situations			
10	51	39	Conceptualizing the course goals			
			Understanding what the teacher is trying to do		3	97
			Understanding how and why children learn or don't learn		12	88
			Understanding records and forms		12	88
			Knowing more about health and nutrition	13	19	68

Suggestions from Teacher Aides

The teacher aides' responses to the question of what changes should be made in the program, if it were offered again for other aides, seem to support the conclusion that the practicum was more effective than the lecture phase of the training program. The suggestion most frequently written by the teacher aides was that more time was needed in the classroom. The lecture phase was referred to negatively by the teacher aides most frequently. The frequencies of typical responses to the question follow:

Response	Frequency
More time in the classroom	23
Fine, rewarding, as is	11
Refresher help in subjects	9
Fewer lectures	8
No lectures in the afternoon	4
Work with audiovisual equipment	4
Miscellaneous	8

Teacher Orientation

Summaries of *Teacher Questionnaires* and *Observers' Reports* were used to evaluate the effectiveness of the program in terms of assisting teachers in gaining experience and understanding their emerging role as coordinators of para-professional personnel services in the instructional process.

Listed below are some teacher responses to the questionnaire item: "Of what personal value was this workshop to you?"

"It helped me to visualize better ways in which an aide might be of help in the classroom."

"Changed my attitude. I had not realized that a teacher and an aide together could successfully plan learning experiences for children."

"Provided for working with smaller groups of children, hopefully improving the quality of instruction."

"I learned to work with another individual in the classroom."

"I became aware of ways an aide could really help in the classroom."

"It made me aware of the beneficial and detrimental aspects of a teaching aide."

Observers' reports were examined and the aides' activities categorized and tallied. The following list indicates the frequencies of performance of aide activities as reported by observers.

Aide Activity	Frequency of Performance
Assisting individual pupils	150
Clerical, including correcting papers	94
Explaining, demonstrating, reviewing	91
Working with groups, less than class size	84
Proctoring, monitoring	59
Orientation, observation	34
Audiovisual material construction	23
Audiovisual equipment operation	21

The teachers used the teacher aides in a variety of ways, more often in instructional tasks than supportive functions. From the teachers' responses to the questionnaire and the observers' reports of the activities performed by the teacher aides, it seems that the teachers had gained experience and understanding of their emerging role as coordinators of the instructional process.

Conclusions

The teacher aides were effective in the instructional process as indicated by the teachers' final ratings of "satisfactory" for the 39 of the 40 in the program. In addition, 99 percent of the teacher and teacher aide responses regarding the quality of the aides' performance of the planned activities were classified as good, very good, or excellent.

Teachers utilized teacher aides in clerical, monitorial, tutorial, housekeeping, and instructional tasks. Teachers gained experience in understanding their emerging role as coordinators of multilevel trained personnel in the instructional process. Approximately 30 percent of the observers' reports indicated that the planned activities were relevant to the learning to perform helpful tasks by the teacher aides.

Head Start 1966-1967
Summer 1967

Table 19 represents research data collected on Detroit's full-year preschool program by the Head Start Evaluation and Research Center at Michigan State University. It should be noted that a statistically significant mean gain of 5.89 points on the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale was recorded by a random sample of students tested by the Michigan State University research team. An even more statistically significant mean gain of 14.68 points on the Caldwell Preschool Inventory was recorded by a random sample of students.

The Department of Research and Development of the Detroit Public Schools conducted an evaluation of the pupil growth obtained during the seven week 1967 summer Head Start. Pre- and post-tests were administered to a selected number of students. These tests were the Peabody Picture Vocabulary and the Brenner Gestalt Test of School Readiness. Table 20 indicates the areas covered by the tests and the growth on the part of the children.

Table 19

1966-67 Full Year Head Start Evaluation

Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale*			Caldwell Preschool Inventory**		
Pre-test October	Post-test April	Difference (gain or loss)	Pre-test October	Post-test April	Difference (gain or loss)
90	95	5	42	49	7
101	87	−14	43	67	24
101	92	−9	19	35	16
91	99	8	28	57	29
84	89	5	30	48	18
88	94	6	41	64	23
82	98	16	33	34	1
95	107	12	44	56	12
56	60	4	17	31	14
111	94	−17	50	67	17
91	105	14	56	73	17
82	96	14	46	60	14
94	96	2	10	32	22
85	99	14	58	65	7
104	102	− 2	34	52	18
82	89	7	52	66	14
68	103	35	56	56	0
			43	60	17
			30	39	9
			45	43	−2
			36	54	18
			32	57	25
			27	68	41
			45	58	13
			55	59	4
			40	67	27
			45	53	8
			32	49	17
			50	52	2
			36	51	15
			18	33	15
			51	59	8
Mean=88.53	94.42	5.89	Mean = 38.88	53.56	14.68
Median = 90	96		Median = 41.5	56	

*The Stanford-Binet is an individually administered test. It is one of the few tests that provide an intelligence quotient for young children. It yields a single measure of general mental ability — I.Q.

**The Preschool Inventory is designed for individual use with children in the three-to-six age range to give a measure of achievement in areas regarded as necessary for success in school such as: the ability to communicate and respond, awareness of word meanings, ability to make judgments regarding quantities, and relationships of shapes to objects and color names to objects.

Table 20

Summer Head Start Evaluation

Growth Areas	N	Pre-Test	Post-Test	Change
VOCABULARY —Language Development —Understanding meaning and use of Nouns and Verbs	373	36.8	38.8	+ 2[ac]
READINESS-TOTAL —Predictive of *reading readiness* and *number readiness*	373	26.2	32.9	+ 6.7[bc]
ACHIEVEMENT-ABILITY —Persistence in completing tasks —Independence —Hand-Eye Coordination —Response to environment methodical alert quality of thinking	373	20.7	22.6	+ 1.9[bc]
SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL —Goal directed —Self-confidence —Motivation —Stability-coping behavior —Responsible	373	24.3	25.2	+.9[bc]

a Test used: "Peabody Picture Vocabulary"
b Test used: "Brenner Gestalt Test of School Readiness"
c Significant at .01 level of confidence.

Cultural Enrichment

Table 21 presents the means of ratings by teachers for several events presented to pupils under the Cultural Enrichment Programs and also presents a statistical accounting of the numbers of pupils who viewed each activity. Teacher ratings of the events were made on a scale of 1 to 5 representing the lowest negative value and 5 the highest positive value.

Table 21

Means of Ratings Given by Teachers and Numbers of Pupils and Schools Participating in Cultural Enrichment Project Program Events

Event	Means of Teachers' Ratings*					No. of Schools	Number of Pupils				
	Educ. Value	Enter. Value	Pupil Interest	Recom. Repeat	Com-posite		El.	JHS	SHS	Paroch	Total
Musical Events											
Ashby Trio	4.5	5.0	4.4	5.0	4.7	8	1702	223	1800	590	4315
Brass Ensemble	5.0	4.9	4.9	5.0	4.9	17	3696	555	850	41	5142
K. Britten	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.3	9	335	1688	550		2573
R. Clark	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1			400		400
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	4.9	4.9	4.8	5.0	4.9	26	4478	3295	5342	834	13949
Kallas Trio	3.0	5.0	5.0	3.5	4.1	1	315				315
J. Love	4.3	4.0	3.9	4.2	4.1	19	2692	771			3463
String Ensemble	4.9	4.6	4.7	5.0	4.8	30	3128	1035		2342	6505
Woodwind Ensemble	4.7	4.4	4.5	4.8	4.6	25	3718	1787	250	947	6702
Total						136	20064	9354	9192	4754	43364
Concerts											
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	5.0	5.0	4.9	4.8	4.9	7		13	44		57
Folk Dance Festival	4.6	4.9	5.0	5.0	4.9	5	332		25		357
All-City Honors	5.0	4.0	4.5	5.0	4.6	2			169		169
Jewell Chorale	4.8	3.8	4.0	4.5	4.3	5		2	94		96
NEHS Concert	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	1			870		870
HS Choral Festival	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	1			54		54
Shaw Chorale	5.0	5.0	4.7	4.7	4.8	3			24	25	49
J. Walters	4.6	4.2	4.0	4.8	4.4	10		26	39		65
W. Warfield	4.8	4.7	4.5	5.0	4.7	6			62		62
Total						36	332	41	1381	25	1779
Artist Demonstration											
Bostic	5.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	4.5	1			120		120
Brackett	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.9	4.6	7		905	400	394	1699
Gillerman	4.2	3.5	4.2	4.8	4.2	4		1399	450		1849
Graves	4.5	4.2	4.6	4.8	4.5	9	596	415		46	1057
McGee	5.0	4.6	5.0	5.0	4.9	5		510	700		1210
Mindener	5.0	4.6	5.0	5.0	4.9	5		432	386		818
Owens	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	1		400			400

Event	Means of Teachers' Ratings*					No. of Schools	Number of Pupils				
	Educ. Value	Enter. Value	Pupil Interest	Recom. Repeat	Com-posite		El.	JHS	SHS	Paroch	Total
Quinlan	4.5	3.5	4.5	5.0	4.6	2		177		250	427
Wald	5.0	3.7	4.7	5.0	4.6	3			620	300	920
Total						37	596	4238	2676	990	8500
Drama											
Just-So Stories	4.4	4.7	4.8	4.8	4.7	105	7969			392	8361
Man Who Married	4.3	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.7	31		12686	12273	85	25044
Old Maid & Thief	4.7	5.0	4.7	4.9	4.8	7			6054		6054
Proctor's Puppets	4.8	5.0	4.9	5.0	4.9	25	3204	500		739	4443
Young Tom Edison	4.6	4.9	4.6	4.7	4.7	7	313				313
Total						175	11486	13186	18327	1216	44215
Trips											
Art Institute	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	2	30	24			54
Children's Museum	5.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	4.5	1		23			23
Cranbrook	4.8	4.3	4.8	4.9	4.7	8	141	112		30	283
Greenfield Village	4.7	3.8	4.7	4.8	4.5	6	162	68	115		345
Historical Museum	4.8	4.0	4.6	4.8	4.6	5	121	73			194
WSU Community Art Center	4.6	3.5	4.1	4.2	4.1	18	326	[illegible]			530
Zoo	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	3	311				311
Miscellaneous	4.6	3.5	4.4	4.8	4.3	7	100	112	130	49	391
"Were You There"	4.8	4.2	4.2	4.6	4.6	5	40		73		113
Total						55	1231	616	318	79	2244
"Conversations"											
French Art	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	1			33		33
Michigan History	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	1			90		90
Folk Art	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	1			38		38
Art Appreciation	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	1			35		35
Books	5.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	4.5	2			29	8	37
Sculpture, Painting, Design	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	2			32	12	44
Literature	5.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	4.2	2			18	4	22
Symphony Music	4.0	3.0	4.0		3.7	1			6		6
Total						11			281	24	305
Grand Total							33709	27435	32175	7088	100407

*Ratings are made on a 5-point scale, with "1" being "very low" and "5," "very high" value.

Summer Camping

Table 22

Means of Counselors' Ratings of Behavioral Characteristics of 378 Campers at Shurly Camp and of 192 Campers at Pastures Camp

Behavioral Characteristic	Means of Counselors' Ratings					
	Shurly Camp			Pastures Camp		
	Initial	Final	Change	Initial	Final	Change
Considerate of others	3.6	3.5	−.1	3.8	3.7	−.1
Gladly shares in responsibilities for cabin cleanup, making beds, and other camp duties	3.9	3.5	−.4*	4.2	4.0	−.2
Exhibits acceptable personal table manners	3.7	3.8	+.1	3.7	3.5	−.2
Exhibits good health habits, such as washing before meals, brushing teeth, washing before retiring	3.8	3.7	−.1	4.0	3.9	−.1
Good group workers	4.0	3.8	−.2	4.0	4.0	.0

*Statistically significant at the .01 level.

Behavior was rated on a five-point scale, with 1 as the lowest and 5 as the highest rating. Counselors' ratings indicate that the campers' behavioral characteristics were between "fair" and "good" in each of the five categories on both the initial and the final ratings. With the exception of the regression shown by the −.4 change in ratings in the characteristic identified as the willingness to share in camp responsibilities, no statistically significant changes were reported.

It is possible that the rating procedure was faulty in that it did not take cognizance of the probability that campers were displaying their best behavior during the first few days of a novel experience. While not much change in behavioral patterns may be expected after a short camping experience, the results of the ratings might have been different had this initial one been made after the novelty of the experience had waned.

At the conclusion of the summer camping program, the staff at each camp replied to a survey instrument which asked for their perceptions of the benefits derived by the campers and of the adverse experiences of which the campers were subjected. (Table 24).

Table 23

Staff Members' Identifications of Benefits That Campers Gained From Their Experiences at Camp

Benefits Listed by Staff Members	Frequency of Mention	
	Shurly Camp (N = 20)	Pastures Camp (N = 9)
Practice in table manners	15	1
Sportsmanship, cooperation, teamwork from working and living as a group	11	8
Increased social contacts	10	3
New appreciation for feelings of others	7	4
Learning basic health habits	7	2
Increase in self-confidence, self-reliance, and independence	6	4
Accepting and sharing responsibilities	5	8
Responding to new situations arising from racial and religious differences	5	4

Table 24

Staff Members' Identifications of Adverse Experience To Which Campers Were Subjected

Adverse Experiences Listed by Staff Members	Frequency of Mention	
	Shurly Camp (N = 20)	Pastures Camp (N = 9)
Rejection and ridicule of some campers by others	5	1
Fighting, ganging up on others	3	1
Adverse influence of problem children	3	1
Homesickness	2	
Organization too rigid	2	
No adverse effects	4	1

The data above indicates either that the Shurly Camp staff was more perceptive than that at the Pastures Camp, or that the Shurly

Camp children actually had more experiences. Two factors suggest the strong probability that there were more problems at Shurly Camp. The Pastures campers were in camp for only two-week periods; and all of them were from the inner-city of Detroit. The Shurly campers were in camp for four-week periods. The majority of them were Caucasians and one third were from outside of Detroit.

Summer Experiences for Neglected and Delinquent Children

Tables 25 and 26 present the test results for approximately 200 children who were tutored in either mathematics or reading in 7 institutions during the summer of 1967. Teachers reported that the children were quite receptive of the tutoring service and responded well. In addition to the tutorial program about 375 youngsters participated in the cultural activities provided as part of the project.

Table 25

*Mean Gains on Stanford Reading Tests, Form W**

Raw Score Means and Corresponding Grade Equivalent Scores

Grade	No. of Pupils	Word Meaning						Paragraph Meaning						Level of Test
		Pre		Post		Gain		Pre		Post		Gain		
		Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	
2	7	12.28	1.4	17.57	1.7	5.29	.3	8.71	1.5	12.00	1.6	3.29	.1	Primary 1
3	7	11.42	2.1	26.71	3.9	15.29	1.8	12.42	1.3	20.71	2.3	8.29	2.0	Primary 2
4	10	13.80	2.5	16.70	2.7	2.90	.2	14.00	1.8	19.50	2.2	5.50	.4	Primary 2
5	10	15.60	4.1	18.50	4.6	2.90	.5	24.11	3.8	22.10	3.6	−2.11	−.2	Intermediate 1
6	13	14.00	4.2	13.76	4.2	−.24	.0	15.38	3.4	16.53	3.7	1.15	.3	Intermediate 2
7	15	17.66	4.8	15.06	4.4	−2.60	−.4	20.86	4.3	17.20	3.8	−3.66	−.5	Intermediate 2
8	17	24.28	5.9	23.14	5.7	−1.14	−.2	28.85	5.3	28.57	5.3	−.28	.0	Intermediate 2
9	3	29.00	6.7	29.66	6.8	.66	.1	21.00	4.3	21.00	4.3	.00	.0	Intermediate 2
10	4	37.73	8.5	38.75	8.8	1.00	.3	46.00	7.7	47.50	7.9	1.50	.2	Intermediate 2
11	3	33.33	7.5	33.66	7.6	.33	.1	42.33	7.0	42.66	7.2	.33	.2	Intermediate 2

Table 26

*Mean Gains on Stanford Intermediate Arithmetic Tests, Form W**

Raw Score Means and Corresponding Grade Equivalent Scores*

Gr.	No.	Computation						Concepts						Application						Level of Test
		Pre		Post		Gain		Pre		Post		Gain		Pre		Post		Gain		
		Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	Raw	G.E.	
6	1	17	4.3	19	4.5	2	.2	14	4.6	17	5.2	3	.6	12	4.0	14	4.2	2	.2	I
7	7	11.57	4.7	14.14	5.2	2.57	.5	11.71	5.5	13.28	6.0	1.57	.5	12.71	4.8	14.57	5.3	1.86	.5	II
8	5	14.60	5.3	15.80	5.6	1.20	.3	13.60	6.0	14.00	6.3	.40	.3	17.60	5.8	19.40	6.2	1.80	.4	II
9	3	15.33	5.5	16.00	5.6	.67	.1	14.00	6.1	15.00	6.3	1.00	.2	16.66	5.7	17.00	5.7	.34	0	II
10	4	29.00	8.2	31.50	9.1	2.50	.7	24.00	8.2	25.75	8.7	1.75	.5	30.25	9.7	32.00	10.1	1.75	.4	II
11	3	23.66	6.7	23.00	6.6	−.66	−.1	22.00	7.8	23.66	8.1	1.66	.3	25.00	7.4	25.33	7.5	.33	.1	II

*Grade Equivalent Means here reported are interpolated Grade Equivalents corresponding to the reported raw score means, and not the means of individual G.E. scores.

Part 4
Special Education

Special Education Vocational Rehabilitation (SEVR) Project

A measure of the SEVR Project's success is in the number of subjects who had achieved successful employment at some time following their training. With this purpose in mind, two time samples were selected as periods for field interviews in establishing the post-program status of the subjects. The period of time included was at each of two points in time, age 17 years 3 months and age 18 years. The status of the subjects as revealed by personal interviews at age 17 years 3 months is presented in Table 27; and at age 18 in Table 28.

Of those eligible for employment (the first two categories in each table) we find a higher number of experimentals with major jobs than without major jobs at both age 17-3 and at age 18. This difference is statistically significant in comparison to control subjects.

Another perspective in measuring the effectiveness of the subject program is to include other statuses than those of "major job" and "no major job". A rather general framework was used in which having a major job, being enrolled in a training or vocational program; and for females, being married but not interested in employment, are given a positive status annotation. Negative status includes having no major job, being unwed mothers or mothers-to-be, and being under some sort of court custody. For the purpose of focusing on status directions in turn, age 17-3 and age 18 statuses were combined to form seven possible combinations. To present a more complete picture of range of possible status combinations, *in school* status was included with the two generalized statuses, *positive* and *negative*.

Table 27

Status of Subjects at Age 17-3[1]

Groups		Major Job (1)	No Major Job (2)	In School (3)	Vocational Training (4)	Married[a] (Females) (5)	Unwed[a] Mother or Mother To Be (6)	Under Some Form of Court Custody (7)*	Refused To Be Interviewed (8)*	Moved or Not Home (9)*	Total
Experimental	N	42	10	26	3	2	2	2	1	3	91
	(%)	(46.2)	(11.0)	(28.6)	(3.3)	(2.2)	(2.2)	(2.2)	(1.1)	(3.3)	(100.1)
Control	N	17	17	37	1	1	0	2	0	8	83
	(%)	(20.5)	(20.5)	(44.6)	(1.2)	(1.2)		(2.4)		(9.6)	(100.1)

[1] This includes all subjects in the first six groups of experimentals and controls who are between the ages of 17 years 0 months and 17 years 3 months.

a Not interested in or responsibilities precluded employment.

* No interviews were obtained from subjects in columns (8) and (9), although some parents were interviewed; a few subjects were interviewed in column (7): those home on leave.

In comparing the distributions of the experimental and control groups by status combinations as presented in Table 29, we find that half the experimental subjects fall in the positive position category, while this is true of only 13 percent of the controls. The largest concentration of controls is in the school category. In this focus in the subjects pattern of change between an initial point at age 17-3 to one nine months later, at age 18, evidence is found of the continuing impact of the experimental program in a positive direction.

A measure of success is further given in Tables 30 and 31 which list comparable occupation scores for the experimental and control groups at age 17-3 and age 18. When times, together with income, are considered, it can be seen that the experimental subjects held jobs for longer periods than did those in the control group, and, overall, earned more pay.

Table 28

Status of Subjects at Age 18[1]

Groups		Major Job (1)	No Major Job (2)	In School (3)	Vocational Training (4)	Married[a] (Females) (5)	Unwed Mother or Mother To Be (6)	Under Some Form of Court Custody (7)*	Refused To Be Interviewed (8)*	Moved or Not Home (9)*	Total
Experimental	N	34	6	1	2	3	2	5	2	6	61
	(%)	(55.7)	(9.8)	(1.6)	(3.3)	(4.9)	(3.3)	(8.2)	(3.3)	(9.8)	(99.9)
Control	N	9	11	16	6	1	0	4	3	6	56
	(%)	(16.1)	(19.6)	(28.6)	(10.7)	(1.8)		(7.1)	(5.4)	(10.7)	(100.0)

[1] This includes all subjects in the first four groups of experimentals and controls who are between the ages of 17 years 10 months and 18 years 0 months.

[a] Not interested in or responsibilities precluded employment.

*No interviews were obtained from subjects in columns (8) and (9), although some parents were interviewed; a few subjects were interviewed in column (7): those home on leave.

Table 29

A Comparison in the Number and Percent of Experimentals and Controls By Combinations of Age 17-3 and Age 18 Statuses

Age 17-3 Status:		School	School	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative	School	
Age 18 Status:		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	School	Total*
Groups		(S+)	(S −)	(+ +)	(+ −)	(− +)	(− −)	(S S)	
Experimental	N	7	3	26	4	6	6	0	52
	(%)	(13.5)	(5.8)	(50.0)	(7.7)	(11.5)	(11.5)		(100.0)
Control	N	7	3	6	4	3	8	14	45
	(%)	(15.5)	(6.7)	(13.3)	(8.9)	(6.7)	(17.8)	(31.1)	(100.0)

*This represents 52 of 61 or 85.2 percent of experimentals and 45 of 56 or 80.4 percent of controls in the three status groups considered in combination here who were interviewed both at age 17-3 and again at age 18.

Table 30

Mean Scores, Differences Between Means, and t Values on Four Job Characteristics, Experimentals and Controls at Age 17-3

	Experimentals		Controls				
	X_1	(N)[1]	X	(N)[2]	X_1-X_2	t Value	P
Hourly Rate of Pay	1.19	(37)	1.29	(11)	−.10	.71	N.S.
Average Weekly Income	45.52	(42)	37.69	(13)	7.83	1.14	N.S.
Number of Weeks Worked	8.92	(42)	4.00	(11)	4.92	3.54	.005
Total Income	437.52	(42)	118.36	(11)	319.16	3.26	.005

[1] A total of 42 Experimentals had major jobs at age 17-3.

[2] A total of 17 Controls had major jobs at age 17-3.

Table 31

Mean Scores, Differences Between Means, and t Values on Four Job Characteristics, Experimentals and Controls at Age 18

	X_1 —	(N)[1]	X_2	(N)[2]	X_1-X_2	t Value[3]
Hourly Rate of Pay	1.31	(31)	1.38	(5)	—.07	.29
Average Weekly Income	56.65	(32)	52.50	(6)	4.15	.32
Number of Weeks Worked	9.00	(30)	6.40	(5)	2.60	1.13
Total Income[4]	533.93	(30)	354.20	(5)	179.73	1.06

[1] A total of 34 Experimentals had major jobs at age 18.

[2] A total of 9 Controls had major jobs at age 18.

[3] None of the t values was significant at the .05 level.

[4] Total income was derived by multiplying average weekly income by number of weeks worked.

Part 5

The University of Michigan Study

Relationship Between School-Community Coordinating Procedures and Reading Achievement

School Community Study

The authors of this study, conducted in the Detroit area by Drs. Litwak and Meyers of the University of Michigan, defined three philosophies of school-community relations — the open door, the locked door, and the balance theory. In pursuing either of the two extreme positions, the school, as a bureaucratic organization, relating with the primary community groups represented by the family and the neighborhood, can make two kinds of mistake. It can run the risk of being too distant from the primary community groups which could lead to the primary groups canceling out school efforts. On the other hand, it can run the risk of being too close, which puts pressure on teachers to provide biased evaluations or for parents to institute contractual relations in the home. It is suggested that the optimum solution is one in which the school seeks to operate at some middle distance from the community. This is the "balance theory of coordination."

In studying the relationship between school-community coordinating procedures, four elementary schools that were part of the original Great Cities Project were selected. Eight other schools that had similar socio-economic characteristics but which did not have the same intensive school-community programs as did the Great Cities schools were also selected. In addition to these 12 schools, six schools located in the outer city of Detroit were added. The object of investigation was the reading skill of the child, as measured by the vocabulary section of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills.

Findings of the study indicate that reading ability seems to operate somewhat independently of positive orientations toward school. In fact, the children from the schools with the poorest reading achievement were most likely to say they liked school. It was also suggested that reading ability operated somewhat independently of the child's occupational and educational aspirations and expectations. It was pointed out that, with respect to aspirations, the crucial factor was not what the child ideally wanted, but what he would be willing to settle for. The evidence indicated that children in low-income areas had the same or higher aspirations than others, but they were willing to settle for considerably less than those from high-income areas.

The investigators do not view the reading achievement test as a measure of the child's I.Q., because reading is very definitely influenced by culture. However, it is probably a very good test for assessing whether the child is being adequately prepared to deal with the middle-class world which he must enter if he is to gain any rewards from our social system. No claim is made that middle-class culture patterns are intrinsically better than the working-class patterns. However, to run a technological industrial society, we need a common language and that of the middle class currently serves better than that of the working class to handle the problems of advanced technology. If a child is to reap greater rewards or wider options of occupational positions in our society, he stands a better chance if he learns the "middle class" language.

Among factors which had an effect on reading achievement were the amount and type of parental supervision. Under stress, absolute conformity was shown to result in poor readers. On the other hand, extreme conflict had similar results. Freedom given to a child had to take place within a context of close parental supervision in order to lead to better readers. The point was made that this type of socialization assumes the parent has much time for socializing the child, an assumption which is less likely to be true for poor people. Consistency of socialization is another factor which is related to reading achievement. In general, the findings were that a moderate amount of inconsistency was related to highest reading scores. Radical inconsistency led to poor reading scores and complete consistency led to poor scores. The amount of supervision was an important factor in its own right. This was related to the number of adults in the family available to provide this supervision. The more the mother knew about where the child was after school, the better the child did. It was also suggested that there were several ways that the supervision of adults could be increased or decreased. The number of children in a family would lead to a decrease in adult supervision. Conversely, supervision could be affected by the number of parents present. It was also found that where more adults than just husband and wife were available for supervision — that is, the more aid families received from relatives — the better their children read.

The study then turned to the type of knowledge base which the family provided for the child. First was the knowledge which has to do with proper educational habits. This type of knowledge was strongly related to the educational experience of the parents and of their neighbors. Another kind of knowledge was knowledge about the educational bureaucracy, e.g., what kind of grades are required to enter college. Finally, there was knowledge about the educational prerequisites for the occupational world. This knowledge seemed to vary from neighborhood to neighborhood and race to race.

There is also a kind of knowledge that is related to an apprenticeship type of program. This knowledge is transmitted by exposure to key adults and is one of the ways the family eventually affects the reading ability of the child.

The balance theory of linkage suggests that optimal results require the school and the primary groups in the neighborhood to operate at some moderate social distance. Much of the prior evidence indicated that different groups had different social distances from the school. Social distance meant two different things: (1) a general normative emphasis on education, and (2) the ability to implement it. In terms of accessibility to the school, the outer city white was the most accessible, the inner city Negro was next most accessible, and the inner city white the least accessible.

Table 32 presents eight types of linking mechanisms and their relative strength of intensity in each of the principles of communication. To close social distance, a linking mechanism must permit the organization to take maximum initiative, maintain a contact which has primary group intensity, and which permits the expert to meet face to face with the group which he is seeking to influence.

It was pointed out that the investigators were unable to find evidence of a strong form of the detached worker or settlement house mechanism in use by the schools. The most powerful forms of detached worker existed only in the four original Great Cities schools. The other schools, with their weaker linking mechanisms did not have families which were as distant from the schools.

As a test of the linkage theory, the authors sought to determine whether the mechanisms which had the highest initiative were better able to reach deviant families than other mechanisms. The measure used to test this was a rather gross one — the overall frequency of school-community contact. It was found, in general, that the closer people were to the schools, the more contact they had. People from the outer city had more contacts than matching groups from the inner city. The Negroes in the inner city had more contacts than the whites. The educated had more contacts than the poorly educated. The only exceptions were the highly educated inner city whites living in the lowest achievement-normed neighborhoods.

This rough confirmation received more support when an examination was made of the types of linking mechanisms used. Among the inner city Negro and the outer city white families, the closer the families were to the schools, the more passive the mechanisms they used. The ones at moderate distance tended to be linked by mechanisms where the school used great initiative. For those at great distance, no mechanism could reach them (i.e. the inner city white). The general position was examined in relation to racial majorities and minorities. The same phenomenon occurred: the racial minority always made less use of passive mechanisms.

This meant that social distance cannot be defined in terms of a given family's relationship to the school. Family and neighborhood must be considered simultaneously if an accurate estimate of

Table 32

Theoretical Dimensions of Communication, Hypothesized To Be Operative in Each Mechanism of Coordination

	Principles of Communication			
Coordinating Mechanisms	Initiative	Intensity	Focused Expertise	Coverage
Detached expert	highest	high	highest	lowest
Opinion leader	low	highest	low	moderate
Settlement house	moderate to low	high	high	moderate
Voluntary associations	low	moderate	moderate	high
Common messenger	moderate	low	lowest	high
Mass media	moderate to low	lowest	lowest	highest
Formal authority	high	moderate to low	high to low	high to low
Delegated function	high to low	high to low	high to low	high to low

distance is to be made. These findings set the stage for the second test of the balance theory — whether the linkage mechanism was either able to increase the reading level of the child or help the child maintain his prior high levels. It was found that the inner city white families — the most distant — were least able to use the linkages to maintain or increase the reading levels of their children. The groups which were at a moderate social distance — Negro inner and white outer city families — were best able to use linkage mechanisms to increase their childrens' reading skills. Similarly, people in the lowest achievement areas of the inner city did not use linkage mechanisms as effectively as those in the higher areas. Furthermore, the poorly educated were not able to use them as effectively as the educated.

The investigators then examined the structure of the school itself. It was argued that the structure of the bureaucracy (the school) itself governed the type of linking mechanisms it might use to reach the community. A rationalistic bureaucracy (hierarchical authority, rules oriented, emphasizing specialization and impersonality) could not tolerate linking mechanisms which required just the opposite dimensions. By contrast, the collegial administrative structure would be less tolerant of linking mechanisms which stressed formality, rules orientation and hierarchical authority.

In the final chapter of the report, the authors pointed out that in their sample, differences in reading achievement of the child cannot be accounted for (in any obvious way) by differences in the following staff characteristics: length of training, amount of advanced training, professional attitude towards teaching, ways in which pupils were evaluated for promotion, the teacher-student ratio, the newness of the physical building, or the race of the

Table 33

Hypothesis on the Relationship Between Bureaucratic Structure, Linking Mechanisms, Community Primary Groups and Reading Achievement

		Community Primary Groups		
Bureaucratic Structure	Mechanisms of Coordination	Deviant Primary Groups	Conforming Primary Groups	Mixed Primary* Groups
Collegial	High initiative & high intensity	***	3	3.5
Rationalistic	Low initiative & low intensity	3		3.5
Professional	Both high and low initiative and intensity	4	4	5
Collegial or Rationalistic	Mismatched with either of the two structures**	2	2	2
Non-Merit Bureaucracy	Any linking mechanism	1	1	1

*An equal mixture of deviant and conforming primary groups.

**Rationalistic connected with high intensity mechanisms, or collegial connected with low intensity mechanisms.

***The higher the number the better reading skills predicted. These numbers are simple rankings for each column.

school staff. It was suggested that the need is to develop special teaching procedures in low-income areas. The problems in these areas are different and need specially trained teachers. Teacher biases also affected a much larger group in the inner city as compared with the outer city in their expectations regarding the intelligence of children whom they felt would not graduate from high school.

The study attempts to show that we must take into account primary groups, bureaucratic structures, and their linkages if we are to have a proper understanding of the way in which school community contacts might affect the child's performance.

The best summary of this position might be the simplified conceptional Table 33.

The numbers indicate the rough rankings of reading skills as we might expect. In the first two columns are the various bureaucratic structures and the underlying dimensions which define linking mechanisms. Two additional types of bureaucratic structure have been included in addition to those discussed in the report. The first is called the professional, which probably comes closest to describing the way most of the schools in the sample were organized. These professional structures are those organizations which use a collegial structure to solve one set of problems (e.g., motivation of the child) and a rationalistic structure to solve another set (e.g., keeping attendance records). These two styles are kept from leading to internal conflict by some internal mechanism of isolation. The second type of bureaucracy is called non-merit in that it is a bureaucratic organization where merit has been sufficiently violated as to question the organization's ability to implement its stated goals.

Using the balance theme it could be argued that for dealing with deviant community primary groups, the ambition of collegial structure, high initiative, high intensity linking mechanisms would be best. Using a parallel argument, the balance theory would suggest that the rationalistic organization with low initiative and low intensity mechanisms would be best in situations where the community had an equal mixture of deviant and conforming primary groups.

Part 6

Employment Opportunities

THE IN-SCHOOL YOUTH WORK-TRAINING PROJECT FOR 14- AND 15-YEAR-OLD YOUTH

THE JOB UPGRADING PROGRAM AS EXPANDED THROUGH THE USE OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT, TITLE I, FUNDS.

Data from the fall term of 1966 on 140 pupils who had enrolled in the program prior to July 1, 1966, and who had participated throughout the fall term of 1966, were compared with data from the fall term of 1965, a period of time prior to project enrollment. A follow-up was conducted on 42 students who had participated in the project and who then went on to senior high school. Ratings by work sponsors for indicating performance on the job by participants were also obtained.

The chi-square test of significance indicated no statistically significant changes in the frequency counts of absence or tardiness. Also, there were no statistically significant changes in the distribution of academic grade or citizenship marks.

Case studies indicate that individual students did show progress in academic performance, in attitude toward school, and in social demeanor.

Ratings by work sponsors indicate that performance on the job by participants was generally average to above-average. Participants were also rated as having improved in attitude and ability for performing adequately on the job.

Of 42 students who had participated in the project, who had gone on to senior high schools and had attained the age of sixteen by May 1, 1967, 35 were still attending high school, six had dropped out, and one had left the city. These data are not considered significant because of the small sample and because each of these 42 students had participated in the project less than two months.

Because the activities, subjects, and financing of the regular Job Upgrading Program and the expanded program were overlapping and intermixed, the evaluation includes the processes and products of the entire program from September 1965 through August 1966. Trainees assigned to remedial work in reading were administered a standardized test at the beginning and at the conclusion of the instructional phase. The central staff and teacher-coordinators provided reports and responded to an evaluation survey instrument.

Funding of the program made possible the opening of four new day and three new evening job centers during the regular school years. The services offered through centers in operation during July and August were almost tripled. Paid work training from May through August was increased more than tenfold as compared with the typical four-month period prior to ESEA, Title I, funding.

Data available on all the trainees who participated in the program during the summer indicate that at the beginning of school in September, 16 percent were employed, 36 percent were returning to regular school, 36 percent were still in the Job Upgrading Program as active students or on follow-up, and 12 percent had left the program.

Though not statistically significant, the mean of the gains in reading achievement of the trainees to whom the Stanford Intermediate II Reading Test was administered, as a pre-test and as a post-test, was three months in Word Meaning and two months in Paragraph Meaning.

Seventy-five percent of the teacher-coordinators who responded to a survey felt that the course of study needed to be revised and/or updated.

Seventy percent of the teacher-coordinators who responded to a survey felt that the Job Upgrading Program would be more effective if there were a city-wide policy defining a positive, closer relationship between the Job Upgrading and the regular school program.

A large number of the respondents felt that the course of study required updating and revision. Several suggested development of materials geared to the poor reader and the slow learner. In addition, lesson sheets are needed for use with newly acquired audiovisual materials.

In view of the staff responses, it would seem that the course of study and lesson sheets should be revised and updated. However, this need has been long recognized by those in the program, and through funds now available under ESEA, the project director has planned several staff workshops. These workshops will be concerned primarily with the revision of the Job Upgrading Manual of Procedure and the development of a curriculum guide. In turn, it is hoped that the new curriculum guide will eventually lead to the revision of the lesson sheets.

At the present time, a prospective referral must be dropped from the school rolls before he can be accepted into the Job Upgrading Program as a trainee. In this respect, the Job Upgrading Program is not part of a regular school curriculum. On the other hand, the centers are housed in schools; hence, they are subject to some jurisdiction by principals. As a consequence of this dichotomous role — being divorced from the regular school curriculum, yet increasingly dependent upon the school and its services — the coordinators find themselves subject to varying degrees of consideration and cooperation from individual school authorities. For this reason, over two-thirds of the respondents to the survey suggested a city-wide policy defining a positive, closer relationship between the Job Upgrading and the regular school programs.

The number of trainees returning to regular school has been increasing over the years. For the first 16 years of the program, the ratio of those going into employment to those returning to school was 3 to 1. For the past five years, the ratio has been 3 to 2. Because of this trend and because of the emphasis that is placed on keeping youths in school, thought has been given on ways to serve these youths better. Thus, two recommendations have already been submitted to an assistant superintendent for consideration:

1. Include the Job Upgrading Program in the regular school program.
2. Permit potential dropouts to transfer into the program rather than have them first marked as "Left" on school records.

Including Job Upgrading in the regular curriculum would also serve another purpose. It would give greater recognition to the program and the services it renders, and thus make more possible a uniform policy regarding its relationships to a school program. Involved in this recommendation is equal consideration in the assignment for class space for Job Upgraders on the same basis as for students in regular school. Hopefully, the policy would allow trainees to enroll in classes determined by their individual needs, rather than by the space available after the students in regular school have been programmed.

Other recommendations from the staff included:

1. Provision for remedial reading instruction for trainees during the regular school year.
2. Provision for groups of trainees to visit industry and business.

Part 7
Communication Skills Center

Basic information concerning reading achievement gains made by pupils during their periods of enrollment in CSC classes is presented in Table 34 for elementary school pupils; in Table 35 for junior high school pupils; and in Table 36 for senior high school pupils. Each table gives the means of pupils' pre-test and post-test scores in grade equivalent units,[1] the gain which has occurred, the mean of the numbers of months they were enrolled, and their average gain per month of enrollment. The data are reported by grade and by number of semesters enrolled in CSC classes. The numbers of pupils reported as having been tested include only those for whom both pre- and post-test scores were obtained.

Tables 34A, 35A and 36A are presented to show the approximate rates of gain in reading achievement made by pupils *before* they attended CSC classes. These pre-CSC rates of gain were derived on the basis of pupils' grade levels and the means of their pre-test scores when they enrolled in the project. For example, the last row of data in Table 34A is read as follows: Twenty-five sixth grade pupils attended CSC classes for two semesters. It is assumed that when they started the first grade, their average level of reading achievement was 1.0 in grade equivalent (GE) units. The mean of their CSC pre-test scores on the Word Meaning test was 3.5 in GE units (the score to be expected of *normal-achieving* pupils who have completed 5 months in the third grade). Their gain, therefore, was 2.5 in GE units or 25 school months. It is assumed that these sixth-grade pupils had had an average of 50 months of reading instruction in school (a very conservative estimate). The approximate average rate of gain in Word Meaning Achievement of .5 was obtained by dividing 25 (the number of months in GE units gained) by 50 (the number of months of reading instruction in school).

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[1] Throughout this report, all means of reading achievement test scores in grade equivalent units are actually the grade equivalent scores corresponding to the means of pupils' raw scores. A listing of all raw score means and standard deviations computed for this evaluation is in the project evaluator's files and may be seen on request.

Table 34

Means of Reading Achievement Gains and Rates of Gain
Made by Elementary School Pupils Attending CSC Classes, 1966-67

CSC Att. Period	Grade	No. of Pupils Tested	Means of Reading Achievement Test Scores in Grade Equivalent Units						Mean of Nos. of Months Enrolled	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes	
			Word Meaning			Paragraph Meaning					
			Pre-test	Post-test	Gain	Pre-test	Post-test	Gain		Word Meaning	Paragraph Meaning
One Semester	3	52	2.6	2.9	.3(3 mo.)	2.6	2.9	.3(3 mo.)	3.7	.8	.8
	4	52	3.0	3.3	.3	2.6	2.9	.3	3.4	.9	.9
	5	160	3.4	3.6	.2	3.0	3.4	.4	3.7	.5	1.1
	6	73	3.8	4.1	.3	3.6	4.0	.4	3.6	.8	1.1
Two Semesters	3	15	2.0	2.8	.8(8 mo.)	2.1	3.2	1.1(11 mo.)	7.5	1.1	1.5
	4	63	3.1	3.4	.3	2.7	3.3	.6	7.4	.4	.8
	5	117	3.3	3.6	.3	2.9	3.6	.7	7.4	.4	.9
	6	25	3.5	3.9	.4	3.0	3.9	.9	7.4	.5	1.2

Table 34A

Reading Achievement Gains and Rates of Gain
Made by Elementary School Pupils Before Attending CSC Classes

Means of Reading Achievements in Gd. Equivalent Units

CSC Att. Period	Grade	No. of Pupils Tested	Word Meaning: At Start of Grade 1	Word Meaning: CSC Pre-test	Word Meaning: Gain	Paragraph Meaning: At Start of Grade 1	Paragraph Meaning: CSC Pre-test	Paragraph Meaning: Gain	Months of Reading Instruction	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes: Word Meaning	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes: Paragraph Meaning
One Semester	3	52	1.0	2.6	1.6(16 mo.)	1.0	2.6	1.6(16 mo.)	20	.8	.8
	4	52	1.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.6	1.6	30	.7	.5
	5	160	1.0	3.4	2.4	1.0	3.0	2.0	40	.6	.5
	6	73	1.0	3.8	2.8	1.0	3.6	2.6	50	.6	.5
Two Semesters	3	15	1.0	2.0	1.0(10 mo.)	1.0	2.1	1.1(11 mo.)	20	.5	.6
	4	63	1.0	3.1	2.1	1.0	2.7	1.7	30	.7	.6
	5	117	1.0	3.3	2.3	1.0	2.9	1.9	40	.6	.5
	6	25	1.0	3.5	2.5	1.0	3.0	2.0	50	.5	.4

Table 35

Means of Reading Achievement Gains and Rates of Gain
Made by Junior High School Pupils Attending CSC Classes, 1966-67

CSC Att. Period	Grade	No. of Pupils Tested	Means of Reading Achievement Test Scores in Grade Equivalent Units: Word Meaning: Pre-test	Word Meaning: Post-test	Word Meaning: Gain	Paragraph Meaning: Pre-test	Paragraph Meaning: Post-test	Paragraph Meaning: Gain	Mean of Nos. of Months Enrolled	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes: Word Meaning	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes: Paragraph Meaning
One Semester	7	42	4.5	5.0	.5(5 mo.)	4.5	4.8	.3(3 mo.)	3.5	1.4	.9
	8	41	5.2	5.7	.5	4.9	5.7	.8	3.5	1.4	2.3
	9	7	6.1	6.3	.2	6.0	6.4	.4	3.2	.6	1.3
Two Semesters	7	34	5.1	5.7	.6(6 mo.)	4.6	5.6	1.0(10 mo.)	7.5	.8	1.3
	8	7	4.2	5.1	.9	4.0	4.7	.7	7.1	1.3	1.0
	9	0									

Table 35A

Reading Achievement Gains and Rates of Gain
Made by Junior High School Pupils Before Attending CSC Classes

Means of Reading Achievements in Gd. Equivalent Units

CSC Att. Period	Grade	No. of Pupils Tested	Word Meaning: At Start of Grade 1	Word Meaning: CSC Pre-test	Word Meaning: Gain	Paragraph Meaning: At Start of Grade 1	Paragraph Meaning: CSC Pre-test	Paragraph Meaning: Gain	Months of Reading Instruction	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes: Word Meaning	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes: Paragraph Meaning
One Semester	7	42	1.0	4.5	3.5(35 mo.)	1.0	4.5	3.5(35 mo.)	60	.6	.6
	8	41	1.0	5.2	4.2	1.0	4.9	3.9	70	.6	.6
	9	7	1.0	6.1	5.1	1.0	6.0	5.0	80	.6	.6
Two Semesters	7	34	1.0	5.1	4.1(41 mo.)	1.0	4.6	3.6(36 mo.)	60	.7	.6
	8	7	1.0	4.2	3.2	1.0	4.0	3.0	70	.5	.4
	9	0									

Table 36

Means of Reading Achievement Gains and Rates of Gain
Made by Senior High School Pupils Attending CSC Classes, 1966-67

CSC Attendance Period	Grade	No. of Pupils Tested	Means of Reading Achievement Test Scores in Grade Equivalent Units			Mean of Nos. of Months Enrolled	Gain Per Month Enrollment in CSC Classes
			Pre-test	Post-test	Gain		
One Semester	10	315	6.0	6.5	.5(5 mo.)	3.8	1.3
	11	82	6.4	6.9	.5	3.6	1.4
	12	39	6.6	7.7	1.1	3.3	3.3
Two Semesters	10	95	6.0	7.2	1.2(12 mo.)	7.8	1.5
	11	11	6.1	6.9	.8	7.5	1.1
	12	8	6.3	8.3	2.0	8.1	2.5

Table 36A

Reading Achievement Gains and Rates of Gain
Made by Senior High School Pupils Before Attending CSC Classes

CSC Attendance Period	Grade	No. of Pupils Tested	Means of Reading Achievements in GE Units			Months of Reading Instruction	Gain Per Month During Enrollment in CSC Classes
			At Start of Grade 1	CSC Pre-test	Gain		
One Semester	10	315	1.0	6.0	5.0(50 mo.)	90	.6
	11	82	1.0	6.4	5.4	100	.5
	12	39	1.0	6.6	5.6	110	.5
Two Semesters	10	95	1.0	6.0	5.0(50 mo.)	90	.6
	11	11	1.0	6.1	5.1	100	.5
	12	8	1.0	6.3	5.3	110	.5

The evidence concerning growth in reading achievement attained by CSC pupils in grades 3 through 12 is summarized below.

Reading Achievement Gains of Elementary School Pupils (Tables 34 & 34A)

1. The rates of gain by elementary pupils in Paragraph Meaning or reading comprehension achievement during CSC treatment were generally about equal to or higher than rates to be expected of normal achievers (.1 GE unit or 1 month per month of schooling), and considerably greater than the pupils' pre-CSC rates of gain.
2. In general, the rates of gain made by elementary school pupils in Word Meaning achievement during CSC treatment were less than would be expected for normal achievers, and no greater than or even less than the pupils' pre-CSC rates of gain.
3. Pupils attending CSC classes for two semesters generally showed lower rates of gain in Word Meaning achievement than were attained by pupils attending for one semester.
4. Pupils enrolled in the CSC for two semesters generally showed rates of gain in Paragraph Meaning achievement approximately equal to rates attained by pupils enrolled for one semester only

(the actual gain of two-semester pupils was, of course, about double that of the one-semester pupils).

The evidence appears to support continuation of the practice of having elementary school children attend CSC classes for a full two semesters.

The results on the Word Meaning test for elementary school pupils suggest a need for greater attention by CSC personnel to the development of pupils' reading vocabularies and word recognition skills.

Reading Achievement Gains of Junior High School Pupils (Tables 35 & 35A)

1. In general, the rates of gain made by 7th and 8th graders in both Word Meaning and Paragraph Meaning achievements during CSC treatment periods were greater than would be expected of normal-achieving pupils, and more than double their rates of growth before enrollment in CSC classes.
2. The data presented in Table 2 do not provide evidence that either one semester or two semesters of CSC treatment resulted in clearly superior rates of gain in reading achievement by junior high school pupils.

The substantial progress in reading achievement made by junior high pupils attests to the value of CSC treatment for pupils at this school level. Since the years in grades 7, 8, and 9 are crucial in determining whether or not a pupil will drop out of school, it is recommended that reconsideration be given to the decision made at the end of the 1966-67 school year to provide CSC services for elementary school pupils only.

Reading Achievement Gains of Senior High School Pupils (Tables 36 and 36A)

1. In general, the rates of gain in reading comprehension achievement shown by senior high school pupils during CSC treatment periods were substantially greater than would be expected of pupils making normal progress in reading.
2. The rates of gain in reading comprehension achievement attained by pupils in grades 10 through 12 during CSC treatment periods ranged from two to six times their rate of gain before attending CSC classes.
3. The data presented in Table 3 reveals no marked difference generally between rates of gain attained during one semester of treatment, and rates attained during two semesters of treatment.

The analysis of the reading achievement test data for pupils in the various grades who attended CSC classes for two semesters included the application of "t-tests" to determine whether differences between the means of pre- and post-test raw scores were statistically significant. The results showed that the gains in Word Meaning for pupils in Grades 3, 4, and 5 and the gains of all pupils in Paragraph Meaning are significant at the .01 level. The gains in Word Meaning for pupils in Grades 6 and 7 through 9 were significant at the .05 level. No tests were run to determine the significance of differences between means of pre- and post-test raw scores attained by pupils attending CSC classes for one semester only, because different forms of the tests were administered as pre-tests than were used as post-tests for these pupils.

Part 8
Continuing Education for Girls

Data were collected at the end of the summer to show the educational status of the girls in relation to the phases of the pregnancy cycle. Of the 74 girls in the first group entering the program 23, or 31 percent, returned to school postpartum; 16, or 22 percent, remained at the centers, postpartum; 16, or 22 percent, continued at the centers, prenatal; 4, or 5 percent, graduated, in-project, from high school; 15, or 20 percent, dropped out.

By combining in one category the girls who either graduated or were scheduled to return to regular school, and in a second category those who had dropped out or were returning, postpartum, to the project, a 2 x 3 contingency table (Table 37) was used to test by means of the chi-square statistics the significance of the differences between the number of successful completions (the first category) and the number of dropouts or returnees (the second category) in terms of the three centers. A chi-square value was significant at the .01 level for 2 degrees of freedom. Center A had the highest number of completions, 15, or 72 percent, followed by Center B, 70, or 47 percent, and Center C, 5, or 23 percent.

Table 37

Number of Successful Completions and Non-Completions by Project Centers

Centers	Number Who Graduated or Returned to Regular School	Number Who Dropped Out or Returned to Project Center	Total
A	15	6	21
B	7	8	15
C	5	17	22
Total	27	31	58

X 10.10 df 2 p .01

Demographic Characteristics of the Girls

Apart from the percent married, the mean percent of days absent from the project and the percent promoted, the following are baseline demographic characteristics of the subjects in the first groups. Thus, a rough picture may be drawn of a typical subject enrolled in the Continuing Education Project: She is Negro, 15 years old; as a 10B she was one semester behind in her schooling; she is not living with both parents; her mother is in her late 30's and her father is in his mid 40's; one of her parents is currently employed; she comes from a family with four children; she is either a middle child or the eldest; the alleged father is three years older than she; at the end of the summer she was promoted to the next grade; she was absent two days a week, and she was not yet married.